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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 234



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CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

USSR Apologizes for Intrusion Into Swedish Waters (XINHUA, 1981)	1
Haig Speaks on Poland, U.S.-Soviet Dialogue (XINHUA, 30 Oct 81)	2
U.S. Spokesman Cited on USSR Missiles (XINHUA, 29 Oct 81)	3
Saudi Minister Hails Senate Vote on AWACS (XINHUA, 30 Oct 81)	5
Mixed Reaction in Mideast to U.S. AWACS Sale (XINHUA, 30 Oct 81)	6
U.S., UK Affirm Commitment to Nuclear Deployment (XINHUA, 28 Oct 81)	7
OPEC Achieves Unification of Oil Prices (XINHUA, 30 Oct 81)	9
PZPR Reshuffles Politburo, Secretariat (XINHUA, 29 Oct 81)	11
Report on Poland's Solidarity Strikes (XINHUA, 28 Oct 81)	13
Jaruzelski Proposes 'Extraordinary Measures' (XINHUA, 31 Oct 81)	14
Poland's Sejm Calls for Suspension of Strikes (XINHUA, 1 Nov 81)	15

Polish Groups Demand Strike Call Off (XINHUA Domestic Service, 28 Oct 81)	16
Jaruzelski Addresses Polish SEJM Meeting (XINHUA Domestic Service, 31 Oct 81)	18
Polish Sejm Urges Suspension of Strikes (XINHUA Domestic Service, 1 Nov 81)	20
Belgium, Luxembourg Ministers View Pacifists (XINHUA, 27 Oct 81)	21
Japan Disturbed by USSR Minister's Visit Cancellation (XINHUA, 28 Oct 81)	23
FRG's Apel Rejects Unilateral Disarmament (XINHUA, 29 Oct 81)	24
'XINHUA' Reviews Tension Between Sudan, Libya (XINHUA, 29 Oct 81)	25
Al-Qadhdhafi Sends Message to OAU on Chad (XINHUA, 29 Oct 81)	27
OAU Chairman Concerned Over UN Debate on Western Sahara (XINHUA, 30 Oct 81)	28
Italian Leaders Discuss Missile Balance in Europe (XINHUA, 29 Oct 81)	29
Mrs Gandhi Speaks on Military Alliances (XINHUA, 31 Oct 81)	30
Africans Urge Reappraisal of Salim UN Candidacy (XINHUA, 31 Oct 81)	31
Raw Materials Dispute Strains North-South Relations (Hu Jie; SHIJIE ZHISHI, 1 Sep 81)	32
South Korean Students Continue To Demonstrate (XINHUA, 31 Oct 81)	37
DPRK Paper Criticizes ROK Concurrent UN Entry Call (XINHUA, 29 Oct 81)	38
Briefs	
ROK Provocations Against DPRK	39
Oman Supports AWACS Deal	39
Xizang Pilgrims Reception Center	39

PARTY AND STATE

Ren Zhongyi Interviewed on 'Leftist Influence' (Ren Zhongyi Interview; LIAOWANG, 20 Aug 81)	40
Improving Party Style for Greater Democracy (Wang Ruoshui; XIN SHIQI, Aug 81)	45
Integration of Creativity With Discipline Stressed (Zhai Wen; SICHUAN RIBAO, 12 Sep 81)	51
Strengthening Party Leadership Over Ideological Work Urged (FUJIAN RIBAO, 23 Sep 81)	54

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Briefs	
PLA Units	58

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Briefs	
Literary Journal	59
Xizang Literary, Art Congress	59
Yunnan Socialist Spiritual Civilization	59
Symposium on Novel	60

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

U.S. Responsibility for Taiwan Problem Discussed (Kuan Chien-tzu; WEN WEI PO, 26 Oct 81)	61
Hu Yaobang Meets Xizang Drama Troupe (MING PAO, 18 Oct 81)	63

TAIWAN

'Ba Yi Radio' Voices Opposition to CCP-KMT Talks (Ba Yi Radio, 28 Oct 81)	66
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

USSR APOLOGIZES FOR INTRUSION INTO SWEDISH WATERS

OW011849 Beijing XINHUA in English 1836 GMT 81 [as printed]

[Text] Stockholm, 31 Oct (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union expressed regrets to Sweden Friday because of the intrusion of a Soviet submarine into Swedish territorial waters near a Swedish naval base, Foreign Minister Rold Ullsten said today.

In an interview with the American ABC News program "Nightline," the Swedish foreign minister said it was "rather unique in the history of Russian diplomacy." The incident was remarkable, he noted, because "in this case we have proof of it."

"However, Ullsten said the apology was "not enough." "We have to complete the interrogation to find out what has happened and at least to find out what kind of explanation they will give us," Ullsten said, "and then we have to decide what should be done next."

"There is no opportunity for me to speculate about using violence," he said. "But it is our intention to demonstrate that this is not tolerable to the Swedish Government."

Ullsten said Sweden wants a satisfactory solution to the incident.

Soviet ambassador to Sweden Mikhail Yakovlev met Swedish assistant foreign minister (Leif Leifland) Friday and expressed "regrets for the submarine incident," Western news reports have stated.

Since the grounding of the submarine, Sweden has strengthened its defense near the Karlskrona Naval Base. The Swedish navy positioned 12 Swedish ships, including a frigate and torpedo boats, in the restricted area to keep surveillance of the stranded submarine.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HAIG SPEAKS ON POLAND, U.S.-SOVIET DIALOGUE

OW301208 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Washington, 29 Oct (XINHUA)—The United States and its Western partners have been very expressive "about the unacceptability of direct or indirect Soviet interventionism" in Poland. "It has been our position and remains our position," Secretary of State Alexander Haig said here today.

"This is an issue which must be decided by the Polish people and Polish authorities," he said, adding that the United States is watching the situation in Poland "very, very carefully."

Haig was addressing a national foreign policy conference of editors and broadcasters at the State Department.

On East-West relations Haig described his meetings in September with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko as "frank, far-reaching, substantively complete and devoid of polemic and diatribe," "if the dialogue continues with the same level of give and take," he said, "I think we have some hope for progress in setting aside the vexing differences that have characterized the American-Soviet relationship in recent years."

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. SPOKESMAN CITED ON USSR MISSILES

OW291616 Beijing XINHUA in English 1559 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 29 Oct (XINHUA)--The Soviet SS-20 missiles deployed against West European targets should be "dismantled and destroyed" for their mere withdrawal would not significantly decrease the threat they pose to the West, said U.S. State Department spokesman Dean Fischer Tuesday, according to reports from Washington.

Fischer's comments came in response to a West German press interview with the Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu. The Romanian leader called for "decisive actions" to stop the nuclear arms race and the danger it poses for Europe. He told the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU that "This applies just as much to stopping the stationing of rockets produced by the United States as to withdrawing the Soviet rockets."

Fischer noted that "Romania has traditionally called for arms reductions in Europe, so we welcome his apparent acknowledgement of the grave threat posed to Europe by Soviet missiles, a threat which the December 1979 NATO decision on theater nuclear force modernization and arms control addresses."

"I would also point out that given the mobility and the long range of Soviet missile systems such as the multiple warhead SS-20, the mere withdrawal of these systems from Europe will not significantly decrease the threat that they pose to the West," he said.

Asked if he meant the SS-20's should be destroyed, Fischer responded: "They ought to be removed and dismantled or destroyed."

But he emphasized that he was "not suggesting that this was to be a policy position of the United States at the start of the theater nuclear force negotiations" with the Soviet Union in Geneva on November 30.

He said, however, that the dismantling and destruction of the Soviet SS-20 missiles coupled with the non-development of planned new Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles in the NATO TNF modernization program amounted to the so-called "zero option."

"This is fully consistent with our objective of seeking equal and verifiable limitations at the lowest possible level," he said.

Under the 1979 decision, NATO is scheduled to begin deploying in late 1983 a total of 108 U.S. Pershing II missiles and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles in West Germany, Britain, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands in direct response to the Soviet deployment of at least 250 SS-20's targeted at Western Europe.

CSO: 4000/'0

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SAUDI MINISTER HAILS SENATE VOTE ON AWACS

OW300736 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Kuwait, 29 Oct (XINHUA)--Saudi Defence Minister Prince Sultan Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz Thursday paid warm tribute to the U.S. Senate approval to sell AWACS planes to Riyadh and said it would boost the kingdom's defence capacity, according to Radio Riyadh monitored here.

Prince Sultan said in a statement that the 8.5-billion-dollar arms deal is "a victory for Saudi Arabia's policy of wisdom and moderation as well as a victory for the American national interest."

He said the U.S. Senate approval shows "the independence of U.S. political decisions against strong pressure that tried to put the foreign policy of the United States at the service of expansionist aims of a foreign state."

Saudi Arabia will continue to buy sophisticated weapons from Europe or the United States, he said. "We will never use these weapons for aggression. We will use them only when we are invaded or when we have to defend our Islamic and Arab rights."

Prince Sultan said Saudi Arabia's Middle East peace plan "provides the international community with a historical opportunity to advance the peace process and end the 30-year-long misery in the region."

Meanwhile, the Saudi paper AL-JAZIRAH said in today's editorial that the U.S. Senate action is a "turning point" in the U.S. relations with Saudi Arabia, the Arabs and Israel. "It is not only a great political victory for the Saudi Government but also a victory for the Arab people," it added.

Another Saudi paper AL-NADWA said that the AWACS sale is part of the process of rebalancing the strategic military balance between the Arabs and Israel.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MIXED REACTION IN MIDEAST TO U.S. AWACS SALE

OW300250 Beijing XINHUA in English 0228 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Damascus, 29 Oct (XINHUA)--Saudi Arabia today hailed the U.S. Senate's approval of the sale of AWAC planes to Riyadh as a victory for both the Kingdom and the U.S. President. It is a clear defeat for Israel and world Zionism, a broadcast of the Saudi Radio monitored here said.

The U.S. Senate's vote shows that the United States has begun to realise its "international responsibilities in a way completely free of influence of the Zionist lobby," the Saudi Radio added.

But the U.S. AWACS sale caused angry reactions from the Israeli Government, according to Israeli Radio monitored here. Israeli Prime Minister Begin today expressed regret over the U.S. decision, saying after a special cabinet meeting that Israel now faces a new and serious danger so that it will do its best to cope with "the new danger."

A Cairo report quoted Egyptian Foreign Minister Faisal Hasan 'Ali as saying today that the U.S. Senate's approval would boost the prospects of the Middle East peace effort. He saw in the sale a turning point in the relations between the U.S. and the Arab states.

In Damascus, official Syrian newspapers made no mention of the U.S. Senate's decision to sell AWACS to Saudi Arabia, but continued to attack Washington's Middle East policy.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S., UK AFFIRM COMMITMENT TO NUCLEAR DEPLOYMENT

OW281700 Beijing XINHUA in English 1535 GMT 28 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--The United States and Britain, despite anti-nuclear demonstrations in Western Europe last weekend, have reaffirmed commitment to NATO plans for deployment of modern nuclear weapons in that continent to cope with the Soviet nuclear threat, according to foreign news agency reports.

Talking to a group of European and American investors at the White House Monday, U.S. Vice President George Bush said the danger to peace is the Soviet buildup, not U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe.

Referring to last weekend's anti-nuclear protests in London, Rome, Paris and Brussels, Bush said, "I don't question the idealism of the people who have been protesting the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, but I do question their sense of perspectives."

He contended that the anti-nuclear movement in Europe does not represent the majority view.

He affirmed that the administration of President Reagan remains committed to NATO plans for deployment of 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe.

However, he said that the Reagan administration also intends "to work for a meaningful, verifiable reduction of nuclear forces throughout the world."

White House deputy press secretary Larry Speakes in a prepared statement disclosed that President Reagan discussed the weekend anti-nuclear demonstrations in Europe with his top advisers Monday and said "We will continue to work closely with our allies to deter potential Soviet aggression and believe strongly that is the best way to assure the peace."

Meanwhile, British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington Tuesday also defended NATO's 1979 plan to deploy new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and criticized the proposals in the West for a unilateral disarmament.

Western Europe would be subject to political blackmail and a military attack from Moscow if NATO didn't meet Soviet military power, Carrington noted in an address to Luxembourg's Winston Churchill Foundation.

He said the Soviet Union's deployment to date of 250 triple-warheaded SS-20 missiles that can strike anywhere in Europe requires NATO to respond with deployment of 572 cruise and Pershing-II missiles starting in 1983.

Referring to the recent anti-nuclear protests, Carrington said, "The many honest people in Europe who oppose nuclear weapons, and those in my country who advocate unilateral disarmament, are mistaken because of one fundamental fact-- what they are suggesting would make war more likely." The mere fear of war would not be enough to prevent it, he added.

On a nuclear-free zone from Portugal to Poland, he said, this is "unfortunately a delusion" because "the Soviet Union has far stronger conventional forces, their use would more readily be contemplated if there were no nuclear deterrent." Moreover, he added, Soviet nuclear weapons can reach Western Europe from beyond Poland, indeed from beyond the Urals.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

OPEC ACHIEVES UNIFICATION OF OIL PRICES

OW300356 Beijing XINHUA in English 0242 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Geneva, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--The oil ministers of the 13 OPEC member countries agreed here today on the unification of their oil prices by setting the official price of the marker crude (Arabian light crude oil) at 34 U.S. dollars per barrel.

An official press communique of the OPEC, read out by the Indonesian Minister of Mines and Energy Subroto, the current president of the organization at a press conference held at the end of the one-day extraordinary ministerial conference, says that the OPEC's 34 dollars official price will come into effect not later than November 1, 1981 and will remain until the end of 1982. "The conference has also agreed to a set of value differentials for the pricing of all other OPEC crudes in accordance with their respective qualities and geographical locations," the communique notes.

It stresses that the decision taken by the OPEC "will have an evident positive effect over the economy of the world through an organization of the oil market which, in turn, will contribute also to the consolidation of OPEC as the main hydrocarbon supplier to the international market."

According to the agreement, Saudi Arabia, the biggest oil exporter in the world, will raise its oil price from the present 32 dollars per barrel to 34, while the rest of the OPEC members will decrease their prices by one to three dollars respectively. Libya and Algeria will be allowed to set their oil prices at 38 dollars a barrel, four dollars higher than OPEC's official price as the differentials for their high-quality light oil, while Nigeria, another high-quality oil producer, will have its differentials of three dollars higher than the official price to set its price at 37 dollars. [as received] Some OPEC countries, which produce heavy oil, will be permitted to set their prices at one or two dollars lower than the official price. The Kuwaiti oil minister told a press conference tonight that his country will set its oil price at 33 dollars.

The achievement of the unification of oil price by OPEC will possibly put an end to the confusion at the world oil market which has lasted for more than

one year. This confusion was partly due to the oil glut at the world market and partly due to the OPEC countries' differences in pricing policies. The contradictions between the "moderates" and the "hard-liners" became obvious when Saudi Arabia produced more than 10 million barrels a day to generate the oil glut at the world market and sold its oil at the lowest price of 32 dollars, and the three North-African producers set their oil prices above 40 dollars, the highest among the OPEC members. Today's agreement shows the unity among the OPEC countries since they, the "moderates" and "hard-liners" in particular, all made compromises in order to achieve a consensus on the price unification. The stabilization of oil market will be beneficial to both oil-producing and oil-consuming countries.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PZPR RESHUFFLES POLITBURO, SECRETARIAT

OW291042 Beijing XINHUA in English 0722 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--The Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee held its fifth plenum today with a minor reshuffle of the Politburo and the secretariat, according to reports received here.

General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who replaced Stanislaw Kania as the party's first secretary at the fourth plenum ten days ago, delivered a speech to the Central Committee.

He denounced the one-hour nationwide strike organized by Solidarity, which ended just two hours before the opening of the party plenum.

He said that the strike had backfired on its Solidarity Trade Union organizers by exposing their destructive designs.

He said, "I think that this strike, no matter how many people took part in it and no matter how voluntary it was, served for millions of Poles as a warning, an emergency signal."

Jaruzelski noted, "In the name of the highest God, in the name of saving the nation, the party calls on Solidarity to adopt a constructive approach to discontinue strikes and give up unending negation."

He said, "The enemies of socialism are showing their hand completely."

"All dangers are accumulating," he said. "The collapsing economy, disruption of the functioning of the socialist state and anti-Soviet provocations constitute a great threat. The people's power cannot tolerate this."

At the same time, he stressed "the necessity of cooperation between all patriotic forces that recognize the reality of socialism."

During the plenum, alternate Politburo member Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak and Professor Marian Orzechowski of Wroclaw University were elected to the Central Committee secretariat, bringing the number of secretaries to nine.

The plenum also elected army chief of general staff Florian Siwicki an alternate member of the Politburo.

Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member, said that the Politburo had discussed the question of Jaruzelski's multiple officeholding and had decided that in the current political and economic situation it was desirable for Gen. Jaruzelski to maintain his posts (as party secretary, prime minister and defence minister).

On behalf of the Politburo and the secretariat of the party Central Committee, Olszowski assured Jaruzelski of their greatest help under all circumstances.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REPORT ON POLAND'S SOLIDARITY STRIKES

OW281750 Beijing XINHUA in English 1551 GMT 28 Oct 81 .

[Text] Beijing, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--Poland's Independent Solidarity Union staged its second nationwide strike for one hour at noon today in defiance of government warnings and appeals to call off the stoppage, according to reports received here.

The first took place on March 27 in protest against reported manhandling of some unionists in the town of Bydgoszcz.

Workers walked off their jobs today wearing red and white armbands and hoisted Polish flags and banners over the factories and some other buildings. But the essential services such as hospitals, power stations, schools and food industries were exempted.

The United Workers' Party newspaper, TRYBUNA LUDU, splashed a headline saying, "Let Us Spare Our Motherland From Strikes. They Do Not Reflect the Interests of the Worker."

Today's strike was called to protest against the increasing shortage of food and to press the government to accept solidarity's demand for a "social council" in which both the government and solidarity take part to manage the country's ailing economy. The demand had been rejected earlier.

Strikes not connected with the nationwide walkout are continuing in Zyrardow, Tarnobrzeg and Zielona Gora regions. Coal miners in Sosnowiec went on an indefinite strike today to protest against an incident last night in which dozens of miners were injured by poison gas in milk bottles thrown from a running car.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JARUZELSKI PROPOSES 'EXTRAORDINARY MEASURES'

OW310814 Beijing XINHUA in English 0806 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Oct (XINHUA)--Polish Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski today submitted to the parliament a draft law on extraordinary measures to protect the interests of citizens and the state.

He also proposed that a national consultation council be formed of political parties, trade unions and other mass organizations, and scientists, writers and artists.

Speaking to the parliament (SEJM) he deplored that "unbridled strike actions have become a way of life," he said. "It is known at today's session, the convent of seniors will present to the chamber a draft resolution which calls firmly for an immediate end to strike action and to all actions violating the social order."

The prime minister also proposed the creation of a committee for social consultation under the Council of Ministers.

He explained that he had to hold the offices of party's first secretary, chairman of the Council of Ministers and defence minister in the current extraordinary situation.

He announced a government reshuffle appointing the Democratic Party's chairman, Edward Kowalczyk, to replace Deputy Prime Minister Stanislaw Mach.

Kowalczyk becomes the third non-communist party deputy prime minister along with the Catholic, Jerzy Ozdowski, and Roman Malinowski of the United Peasants' Party.

Five ministers were appointed, including Zenon Komender, vice-president of the PAX Catholic Association as minister of internal trade and service.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLAND'S SEJM CALLS FOR SUSPENSION OF STRIKES

OW010230 Beijing XINHUA in English 0217 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Oct (XINHUA)--Poland's National Assembly (SEJM) today unanimously adopted a government-backed resolution calling for the immediate suspension of all strikes.

The resolution said, "In the face of danger to the nation's existence and in order to protect citizens' basic needs, the SEJM calls on all trade union chapters to abandon immediately strike actions which are ruining the country."

It said, "It is not the time for work stoppages and demonstrations when the country is in direct need."

The resolution said, "The SEJM simultaneously notes with approval the call by the Presidium of solidarity's national commission to suspend current strikes, as well as earlier similar appeals by other trade unions and social organizations."

"If the call of the SEJM should prove ineffective and a state of higher emergency for the nation's existence arises, the SEJM will consider a proposal to equip the government with such legal means as are required by the situation," it added.

During the two-day session, the SEJM reaffirmed its support to Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski and his government.

The SEJM instructed the government to make every effort to bring about swift amelioration of the present situation and appealed to the whole society to give full support and assistance to the measures taken by the government.

The resolution expressed concern about the unbridled actions of the extremists in the trade unions, pointing out that their tendency and activities "run counter to the social accords and the basic interest of the people and the state."

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH GROUPS DEMAND STRIKE CALL OFF

OW300645 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1526 GMT 28 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--In the wake of the joint meeting of the PZPR, the United Peasant Alliance and the Democratic Alliance, condemning the stand taken by the "Solidarity" Union against the government's efforts to solve social difficulties. Various trade union and social organizations and the media in Poland have recently issued statements and published articles opposing the "Solidarity" Union's decision to stage an 1-hour national strike on 28 October.

The national cooperative committee of the Polish Professional Trade Union issued a statement on 27 October calling on its members not to participate in the 28 October strike. In its statement, the second largest Polish trade union organization, with nearly 4 million members, stressed that we "should not take blind adventurist action to destroy ourselves, we should negotiate and consult," and that "only by working conscientiously can we overcome the crisis."

In its statement issued on 27 October, the work group of the Polish Federation of Autonomous Trade Unions "opposes the strike which will cause unwanted social tension." The statement said that every call for a strike under the current social and economic situation is "detrimental to, and threatens the existence of, Polish society."

The General Council of the Polish Teachers Association pointed out on 27 October in its open letter to the national committee of the "Solidarity" Union that the scheduled "national strike cannot win our sympathy or support."

The Presidium of the General Council of the Polish Socialist Youth Federation pointed out in its 27 October statement that the strike is "a most incorrect form of protest" under the catastrophic economic situation facing the nation. It urged the "Solidarity" union to call off the national strike scheduled for 28 October.

The continuous strikes have further aggravated Poland's economic problems and prolonged the turbulent political situation. People from all walks of life are tired of the strike and oppose it. Even within the "Solidarity" Union itself, especially numerous grassroots trade union organizations and ordinary members, have begun to oppose the strike. According to PAP, when the Koszalin

chapter of the "Solidarity" Union decided that the whole province should be prepared to stage a strike, most of the factories in that province, including numerous "Solidarity" factory committees, opposed such a decision.

The 27 October Polish ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI pointed out in its commentary that the 1-hour strike would cost the state 1 billion zloty (equivalent to \$30 million) and that the strike "will cause tremendous losses," not only to the economy, but also to "national defense potential and national security."

According to PAP, a spokesman of the national committee of the "Solidarity" Union issues a communique upholding the national strike on 28 October.

CSO: 4005/156

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES POLISH SEJM MEETING

OW312105 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1150 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Oct (XINHUA)--The 8th Polish Sejm held its 17th meeting in Warsaw today. At the meeting, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and Polish prime minister, submitted to the Sejm a "draft law on extraordinary measures to protect the interests of citizens and the state" and proposed the establishment of a national consultation council. Jaruzelski delivered a lengthy speech at the meeting. He pointed out: At present, the sociopolitical situation in Poland has further intensified. Tension, clashes and strike actions have swept Poland. The shortage of supplies on the market has worried many people in society.

He said: The government has adopted and will continue to adopt measures to improve the ration system on food and certain industrial products and the coupon system. He proposed the immediate setting up of a committee to supervise the market and carry out social consultation so as to expand society's role in supervising the supplies and functions of the market.

In his speech, Jaruzelski accused the extremists of the "Solidarity" Trade Union of "creating a de facto opposite government" and of "undermining the unity of the country and bringing the economy to a standstill." He denounced the nationwide warning strike recently organized by the trade union. He said: "Unbridled strike actions have become a way of life." "This situation must not continue." He went on, saying: In view of the existing dangerous situation, the government has submitted a draft law on extraordinary measures to the Sejm Presidium to protect the interests of citizens and the state. The convention of seniors will present to the chamber a draft resolution which firmly calls for an immediate end to strike action and to all actions violating the social order. He emphatically pointed out: "If this resolution is not observed, the prime minister will have to fulfill, on an emergency basis, the legislative procedure for enacting the draft law proposed by the government." "Efforts must be made to protect the interests of the state and maintain stability in the country."

Jaruzelski also proposed the formation of a national consultation council of political parties, trade unions and other mass organizations, and scientists, writers and artists, as well as the creation of a committee for social consultation

under the Council of Ministers. The former will carry out its activities according to the program of the people's united front. The latter's task is to express its opinion and offer suggestions to the government on how to solve social and economic problems.

Jaruzelski explained that he must hold the offices of the first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and the government prime minister in the current extraordinary situation. He said: "This is conducive to obtaining the necessary effects for action." He also said: For the same reason, "I intend to retain the office of defense minister."

After that, he proposed to the Sejm a government reshuffle to meet the current situation.

CSO: 4005/156

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH SEJM URGES SUSPENSION OF STRIKES

OW011001 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0753 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Oct (XINHUA)--The 17th session of the 8th National Assembly of Poland closed today after 2 days in session. The session unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the "Solidarity" Trade Union to immediately suspend all strikes. The resolution stressed: "If the call of the National Assembly should prove ineffective and a state of emergency for the nation's existence arises, the National Assembly will consider a proposal to equip the government with such legal means as are required by the situation."

The resolution expressed "deep concern" about the deteriorating sociopolitical situation and the incessant waves of strikes and protest activities. At the same time, it expressed "understanding and sympathy for the social dissatisfaction caused by hardships in life." The resolution instructed the government to "make every effort to bring about swift amelioration of the present situation" and appealed to "the whole society to give full support and assistance to the measures taken by the government."

The resolution called on the "Solidarity" Trade Union to "make constructive contributions" to overcoming the crisis in Poland, respect the constitutional principles and state organs and abide by the laws of the land. The resolution expressed "deep concern" about the actions of the extremists in the "Solidarity" Trade Union, pointing out that their tendency and activities run counter to the vital interests of the people and the state.

The resolution also instructed state administrative organs, public security and judicial departments to "effectively maintain public order and adopt measures according to law."

The session finally approved proposals by Premier Jaruzelski on government personnel matters and decided to remove Stanislaw Mach from his post as vice premier and to replace him by (?Edward Kowalczyk), chairman of the Democratic Alliance. In addition, the ministers of communications, domestic trade and services, foreign trade, materials management and veterans' affairs were replaced.

CSO: 4005/156

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BELGIUM, LUXEMBOURG MINISTERS VIEW PACIFISTS

OW271748 Beijing XINHUA in English 1651 GMT 27 Oct 81

[Text] Brussels, 26 Oct (XINHUA)--The Soviet superiority of nuclear weapons in Europe has upset the balance of nuclear missiles deployed there and is threatening peace and security in Europe, according to the foreign ministers from Belgium and Luxembourg.

Belgian Foreign Minister Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb and Luxembourg Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Colette Flesch reached these conclusions after studying the increase in European pacifism.

"To better meet the desire of the Belgian people and the government for peace, we must emphasize the withdrawal of Soviet SS-20 missiles which have upset the balance in Europe. This is the only way we can call off the deployment of corresponding U.S. missiles," the Belgian foreign minister said.

The Soviet Union has continued to station SS-20's in Europe, and its nuclear warheads now total 750.

"These nuclear warheads will not strengthen our security," he said. "On the contrary, they cause menace and disequilibrium."

Speaking on foreign policies, Luxembourg Deputy Prime Minister Flesch said, "In fact, the pacifists' aspirations are being turned to oppose the deployment of battlefield nuclear forces in Europe. The result is that the pacifist movement will allow the West to be reduced to an inferior position in face of the increasing Soviet military superiority." The result is extremely dangerous, he added.

Talking about detente, Flesch said it should be viewed only as an inseparable whole, that Soviet occupation of Afghanistan has shaken the system of mutual cooperation and understanding and that the Soviet Union is playing a risky game that could jeopardize world peace.

Recently, some Belgian political parties and the news media have also commented on the current pacifist movement.

The Belgian Labor Party pointed out in an article that the Soviet Union shared great responsibility in the new arms race.

Withdrawal of the SS-20's is inevitable to safeguard European peace, it said. The article also demanded that no new-type American nuclear weapons should be deployed in Europe.

LA LIBRE BELGIQUE stressed in an article yesterday that the goodwill of most pacifist movement participants is undoubted, but the people must guard against those who might take advantage of the fear of a nuclear conflict.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPAN DISTURBED BY USSR MINISTER'S VISIT CANCELLATION

OW281425 Beijing XINHUA in English 1310 GMT 28 Oct 81

[Text] Tokyo, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--The Japanese side expressed dissatisfaction with the Soviet Education Minister Mikhail Prokofyev's cancellation of visit to Japan. The Soviet minister was to visit Japan at the invitation of the Japanese-Soviet Friendship League of Dietmen.

Prokofyev cancelled the trip because the Japanese Foreign Ministry had issued a "special visa" for him instead of a diplomatic visa as requested, Soviet Ambassador to Japan Dmitriy Polyanskiy said.

Since the Soviet military invasion of Afghanistan, the Japanese Government has imposed sanctions on the Soviet Union including the freezing of exchange of visits between high-level officials of the two countries.

The Japanese Foreign Ministry sources called Prokofyev's cancellation of the visit on the pretext of the visa problem "a matter beyond understanding."

Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki told newsmen today that "the Japanese side had done nothing wrong on the matter of dealing with the Soviet education minister's visit as it handled the matter in good faith." He added, "Diplomatic visas are issued when negotiations are to be held between government officials. In the present case, it is a matter involving the League of Dietmen, therefore, it is not a matter for political talks."

The Japanese press holds that by demanding a diplomatic visa for the Soviet minister, the Soviet Government attempted to make a breach in the Japanese sanctions. The Soviet cancellation will cast a shadow on the relations between the Soviet Union and Japan to come, the NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN said.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FRG'S APEL REJECTS UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

OW291808 Beijing XINHUA in English 1644 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Bonn, October 28 (XINHUA)--West German Defense Minister Hans Apel said yesterday that he is opposed to one-sided disarmament by the West and called for an increase of the federal defense force's attacking power.

Addressing the 25th conference of Bundeswehr commanders, which concluded in Ingolstadt today, Apel also pointed out that one-sided disarmament will increase the probability of war and that the future of West Germany could be guaranteed only with a Western alliance.

The majority of public opinion in West Germany, Apel said, is behind the NATO dual tract decision. He said it must be made clear to those who are critical of the country's defense policy that one-sided arms limitations and controls are not acceptable. He also called for a halt to Soviet armaments.

Dealing with the importance of soldiers, Apel said that their role only can be conducive to the maintenance of peace when armed forces possess an attacking power. It is not enough to have only the will of peace today, he said. "People must see that the security of West Germany can in no way be defended without the use of nuclear weapons," he explained.

The three-day annual commanders conference was attended by 375 generals and high-ranking officers from Bundeswehr's three services.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' REVIEWS TENSION BETWEEN SUDAN, LIBYA

OW291552 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 29 Oct (XINHUA)--Border tension between Sudan and Chad has been growing since the rupture of diplomatic relations between Sudan and Libya last June.

The Sudanese News Agency reported that Libyan airplanes had raided towns and villages in the western border areas of Sudan on 26 occasions.

In a press interview in Cairo in the middle of this month, President Ja'afar Numayri accused Libya's leader al-Qadhdhafi of planning to mount a large-scale invasion of Sudan from the West. Meanwhile, Egyptian President Husni Mubarak has assured Numayri that Egypt will come to the help of Sudan if it is invaded by Libya. Thus, a tense situation prevailed over the border.

Later on, Libya declared that it would withdraw its troops from the border areas and Sudan welcomed Libya's announcement. Numayri pledged that Sudan would not attack Libya first, and so did Mubarak. This resulted in an easing of the explosive situation.

Since last December, Libya has stepped up its intervention in Chad. Taking advantage of the internal strife in Chad, it has sent 6,000 mechanized troops equipped with Soviet-supplied arms to that country. A part of the Chadian guerrillas were driven to the areas bordering on Sudan and over 20,000 Chadian refugees have made their way to the Sudanese town of Junaina and many more to other cities of Sudan.

Since mid-September this year, Libya has intensified its bombing of towns and villages near the Sudanese side of the border under the pretext of attacking Chadian guerrillas.

In response to Sudan's request for military aid and in defence of its own traditional interests in the area, the United States has promised to supply Sudan with M-60 tanks, 102mm howitzers and F-15 airplanes and increase its military aid to Sudan in the current fiscal year from 30 million to 100 million U.S. dollars and economic aid to 115 million dollars.

The Sudan News Agency reported that in order to ensure security in the capital and prevent Libya from using the same bad elements who had infiltrated with the refugees to carry out subversive activities, the Sudan public security authorities had detained some 19,000 refugees. They were soon released with the exception of anti-government fundamentalists, lawless soldiers, profiteering merchants and the saboteurs in the guise of refugees.

President Numayri disclosed recently that some of the arrested had confessed that they were sent to Sudan by Libya to sabotage Sudanese economy and overthrow the government.

Diplomats in Khartoum were reported to have pointed out that the danger that foreign forces may take advantage of Sudan's bad harvest this year and the spiralling prices to stir up trouble in collaboration with internal opposition in the country.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AL-QADHDHAFI SENDS MESSAGE TO OAU ON CHAD

OW291331 Beijing XINHUA in English 1256 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Nairobi, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi said that he may very soon send an envoy to Libya and Chad and he himself may visit Libya afterwards to discuss the implementation of the OAU resolutions on Chad, according to local press reports today.

Moi made the remarks after receiving a special message from Libyan leader al-Qadhdhafi yesterday. He said that the message was "very important" in relation to the problems in Africa including Chad.

It was reported that Libya's message was sent soon after French President Francois Mitterrand appealed to the OAU chairman for sending an African peace-keeping force to Chad to replace the Libyan troops there and after Chadian President Goukouni issued a communique demanding that Libya keep out of the factional fighting in Chad.

The Kenyan paper DAILY STANDARD stressed editorially today that Libya has not abandoned its plan for merger with Chad and instead it has increased its troops in Chad from 4,000 to some 15,000 strong, intending to use Chad as a "base in the heart of Africa for infiltrating, subverting and destabilizing other African countries."

The Kenyan paper DAILY NATION disclosed editorially on October 26 that France and the United States have started sending small arms to Chad to support President Goukouni and pledged logistic support for an African peace-keeping force in Chad.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

OAU CHAIRMAN CONCERNED OVER UN DEBATE ON WESTERN SAHARA

OW300148 Beijing XINHUA in English 0125 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Nairobi, 29 Oct (XINHUA)--The current chairman of the Organization of African Unity, Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya, has expressed his concern over the unfortunate developments surrounding the Western Sahara debate at the current session of the United Nations.

Moi made the expression in a message today to King Hassan II of Morocco and President Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria.

In his message, President Moi said, "It has been brought to my attention that your representative at the U.N. has introduced a separate resolution on Western Sahara. Such action is not conducive to progress in the implementation of the decisions of the OAU implementation committee on the question of Sahara, and should not be encouraged. It is absolutely essential that we should be united in our search for a peaceful settlement of the question of Western Sahara."

Moi said, "Under the circumstances, I am appealing to you in accordance with the mandate of the implementation committee to allow the OAU implementation committee on Western Sahara to execute its mandate on Western Sahara accordingly."

"Africa demands that the question of Western Sahara be settled in accordance with the 18th OAU summit resolution and consequent recommendations and decisions of the implementation committee on Western Sahara," he said.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ITALIAN LEADERS DISCUSS MISSILE BALANCE IN EUROPE

OW291248 Beijing XINHUA in English 1238 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Rome, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--About 200 Soviet SS-20 missiles were directed at Italy and can destroy 600 Italian cities, Italian Defence Minister Lelio Lagorio told newsmen at a radio interview today.

An AVANTI report today says that Lagorio said at a meeting in Prato on October 26: "The government line is to maintain a just balance among various forces in the world. The establishment of a force which can prevent any adventurous actions is necessary for opening the door to detente. This is the only starting point for reaching final agreement on disarmament."

He said: "A balance of force should be viewed from the fact that the Soviet Union has begun deploying missiles since 1977. As a reply, the West should also begin pursuing the same plan."

Italy is in favour of a "zero formula," namely, the Soviet Union should dismantle its missiles and the West would stop deploying theirs, he said.

According to another report, Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo said at a recent meeting of the Christian Democratic Party: "Because of the existence of imbalance, it is necessary to reestablish balance with new weapons which are not offensive, but dissuasive."

Political secretary of the Christian Democratic Party Flaminio Piccoli said at the same meeting that peace could not be sought by demonstrations alone. Neutrality cannot guarantee security without a balance of force. He reminded the people they must not forget that an imperialist power has invaded Afghanistan and is threatening the security of Poland.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MRS GANDHI SPEAKS ON MILITARY ALLIANCES

OW311215 Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] New Delhi, 31 Oct (XINHUA)--Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi yesterday said that many countries are now realising that military alliances entail obligations that might not be entirely consistent with a nation's concerns.

Inaugurating the silver jubilee celebrations of the school of international studies, Nehru University, Mrs Gandhi spoke of the restiveness and apprehension about bases and stationing of missiles that many countries involved in alliances feel.

India had no desire to get entangled in rivalries and conflicts of power blocs and their war preparations, she added.

Mrs Gandhi said: "Had we built our defence forces at the behest of others or through gifts of armaments, the centre of decision and policy-making would have moved out of our hands."

Talking of India, Mrs. Gandhi said that non-alignment was not an objective but a policy--a policy that had helped India to become technologically more self-reliant.

Mrs Gandhi said that self-reliance and development are not mere desires but essential and the "only possible way."

A two-hour battle between students and police happened when Mrs. Gandhi came to the university. The students were protesting against the anti-democratic policies of the government and her presence.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AFRICANS URGE REAPPRAISAL OF SALIM UN CANDIDACY

OW310244 Beijing XINHUA in English 0208 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 30 Oct (XINHUA)--The African group of states to the United Nations today called on the permanent member of the security council, who kept vetoing Tanzanian Foreign Minister Salim A. Salim in the election of a new U.N. secretary-general, to reconsider its position and support Salim.

This appeal was contained in a communique released this afternoon following the meeting of ambassadors of the African group.

The communique says: "The African group expressed its deep concern that a permanent member of the council had consistently opposed the OAU's candidate. The African group appeals to this permanent member to reconsider its position and thus support minister Salim."

It adds, "The group also expressed its concern for the attitude of the two permanent members who have consistently abstained and appeals to them to reconsider their position."

"The African group also urges all members of the council to support Africa's candidate," it concludes.

It is understood that the United States vetoed Salim while the Soviet Union abstained all along in the council's six rounds of balloting last Tuesday and Wednesday to choose a new U.N. secretary-general.

Facing the deadlock, according to council sources, the council has canceled its scheduled meeting today and decided to continue its consultations next Tuesday with regard to considering the recommendation for appointing a new U.N. secretary-general.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RAW MATERIALS DISPUTE STRAINS NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 81 pp 2-4

[Article by Hu Jie [5170 2638]: "The Raw Materials Question in the North-South Relationship"]

[Text] On 22 and 23 October this year, a summit conference for a North-South dialogue will be held in Cancun, Mexico. In this connection, a preparatory meeting at the foreign minister level was held in Cancun at the beginning of August. The communique issued by the meeting pointed out that the objective of the summit conference would be to create conditions for holding global negotiations on eliminating the economic disparities between industrial countries and developing countries. People know that the contradictions between the South and the North (i.e., the contradictions between the developing countries and the industrially developed countries) are longstanding, the countries involved are widespread, and there are many piled-up problems which have become increasingly sharper in recent years. Among them the problem of new materials is one of the most outstanding. Raw materials are the important material foundation for North-South interdependence and are also the outstanding important reason for this interdependence. The raw materials problem affects the North-South relationship now and in the future. This article is intended to provide some materials and views on this problem.

Raw Materials Cause North-South Interdependence

In North-South economic contacts, raw materials always flow from the South to the North, i.e., from the developing countries to the developed countries. The economies of industrially developed countries depend on the raw materials of the developing countries. With regard to energy raw materials, the Western industrial countries import 4/5 of the total amount of petroleum imported in the world, and of this figure 3/4 of the petroleum comes from Third World oil-producing countries. With regard to mining industry raw materials, America depends on outside supplies for 15 percent of its consumption, Western Europe 75 percent, and Japan 90 percent, and 2/3 of these supplies come from developing countries. Although America's proportion of imported mining raw materials is fairly small, in terms of absolute quantity it is the world's largest importing country, with it heavily dependent on foreign supplies for 20 kinds of strategic ores. With regard to agricultural raw materials, the Western industrial countries account for 70-75 percent of the world's consumption of cocoa, coffee, and rubber, and almost all this amount is

supplied by developing countries. One can see that if the South did not apply raw materials, the North could not have its material civilization.

With regard to the developing countries, raw materials are their major source of funds. Because the great majority of the developing countries have still not extricated themselves from the unbalanced economic structure created by colonialism, as of now primary products still account for 2/3 of their exports, and for many of these countries foreign exchange income depends on the export of one or two agricultural or mining products. Twenty-eight countries in Africa export only one to three kinds of raw materials. For example, Zambia's income from its export of copper accounts for 50 percent of its total output value; Zaire's income from its export of copper accounts for 50 percent of its foreign exchange income and over 30 percent of its total output value; Mauritius' income from its export of sugar accounts for 90 percent of its total export income; and Mauritania's income from its export of iron ore accounts for 60 percent of its total export income. Therefore, the amount of raw materials imported by the industrial countries, and the prices paid for these raw materials, have a very great economic effect on the developing countries. In this connection, the developing countries also depend on the raw materials markets and prices of the developed countries. Moreover, since the end of the war [World War II], the developing countries' increase in foodgrain production has been slow, and in over 60 countries the output per capita has dropped. Many developing countries that were foodgrain-exporting countries before the war have become foodgrain-importing countries, and because of this have become increasingly dependent on foodgrain supplies from the developed countries.

One can see that raw materials supply and demand form the economically interdependent relationship between the North and the South. This relationship of dependency was established on the basis of unequal price exchanges, and it follows the old international economic order and is filled with layer upon layer of contradictions.

The Raw Materials Problem Sharpens North-South Contradictions

After the 1970's began, the developing countries launched a struggle in the raw materials field to strive for their economic liberation. However, except for the signal victories won by the oil-producing countries, the struggle of the other countries that export agricultural and mining raw materials was restricted by all sorts of contradictions. America and certain other developed countries did their utmost to protect their vested interests and the old international economic order, which made it impossible to reach a just and reasonable solution to the raw materials problem, thereby causing outstanding aggravation between the North and the South. The unreasonable phenomena in the raw materials problem are as follows:

1. The excessively low price of raw materials. At the beginning of the 1970's, the developing raw materials-producing countries universally raised the prices of their raw materials, but in the middle of the 1970's the prices of raw materials universally jumped back, even to below the actual price in 1971. The main developed countries manipulated and suppressed the prices of raw materials by such methods as buying up and stockpiling raw materials in large quantities or

having transnational corporations in raw materials-producing countries sell raw materials directly to their parent corporations or controlling the international centers that fix the prices of raw materials. With the exception of the organization of aluminum-producing countries' raising of the price of alumina, none of the other 20 organizations of raw materials-producing countries of the developing countries could prevent the prices of raw materials from dropping.

2. The enlargement of the scissors movement of the prices of raw materials and finished industrial products. The prices developing countries get for exported raw materials are dropping, and the prices they pay for finished industrial products and foodgrain are rising. Because of this, in the 1960's the developing countries lost \$50 billion. In the 1970's, the situation worsened: from 1974 to 1978. The scissors price movement expanded by 15 percent, and in 1978 alone the developing countries lost \$30 billion. Actually this was a shifting by the main developed countries of the consequences of their economic crises and inflation onto the developing countries.

3. The industrial countries' monopoly of raw materials processing and their profit on the circulation of commodities. The developing countries produce raw materials, but they do not control the links of processing, transporting, selling, and distributing the raw materials of their own countries, and the profit these links bring are very big. For example, the price of alumina after being smelted into aluminium is 9 times higher than it was originally, and the selling price of bananas is 8 times higher than the production price. The cost of transporting raw materials from the place of production to the place of selling is often much higher than the original price of the raw materials. These portions of the price increase limit the earnings of developing countries and are basically the earnings of the industrial countries.

4. Raw materials export markets are not properly protected. The industrial countries constantly employ administrative measures such as excessively high hygienic and safety standards, quantitative limits, and import licenses, as well as protective measures such as tariff barriers or subsidies on their own countries' products, and thus the raw materials of the developing countries cannot equally and freely enter their markets, and this situation is especially prominent with regard to agricultural products.

5. The sales of raw materials are subject to increasingly intense competition from the industrial countries. For example, the raw materials produced by the industrial countries of Australia and Canada compete with those of the developing countries in the mining raw materials selling markets: some industrial countries use South Africa's mining raw materials to hold down the prices of the developing countries' raw materials; America has taken away Africa's peanut market; and Western Europe's sugar beets are flooding the cane sugar markets. Besides this, the synthetic materials and substitute raw materials developed by the industrial countries are threatening the developing countries' markets for natural raw materials. For example, there are the technologies for replacing natural rubber with synthetic rubber, cocoa with soybeans, copper with aluminum, etc.

6. The sovereignty of raw materials countries over their natural resources is still being impaired. After the 1970's began, the developing countries took

measures such as nationalizing or regulating by law foreign capital enterprises in order to protect their sovereignty over their natural resources and their economic interests and to prevent the artificial lowering of raw material prices. However, the transnational corporations and the major industrial countries took some countermeasures. For example, after the first part of the 1970's, the industrial countries switched their mining investments to Australia, Canada, South Africa and other countries and regions. Eighty percent of mining investment does not go into the developing countries. These countermeasures seriously affected the developing countries, halting nationalization and even causing it to retreat.

With regard to seabed resources, the rights and interests of the Third World countries are also being impaired. Last year although the Law of the Sea Conference in Geneva reached an agreement (still not in effect) on the exploitation of seabed resources, and ruled that the exploitation of seabed resources must be approved by a special organization formed by the 36 developing countries, in actuality the developed industrial countries already monopolize the exploitation of seabed resources.

Raw Materials Pose an Important Problem in Harmonizing North-South Relations

With the raw materials problem having such a great effect on North-South relations, naturally it is one of the principal topics at all sorts of meetings designed to harmonize North-South relations. The United Nations has held many special meetings and trade development meetings, and has also adopted some resolutions of principle favorable to the developing countries. But some of these resolutions cannot yet be truly put into effect and some of them are basically not put into effect, so that up to today there is still not a path being taken toward a just and rational solution of the North-South raw materials problem. At present, there exist in North-South negotiations on the raw materials problem the following major issues.

1. The issue of stabilizing the prices of raw materials. In 1976, a UN trade development meeting adopted a "comprehensive plan for commodities" with the aim of stabilizing the prices of raw materials. The core of this plan was the setting up of some "international stockpiles" of raw materials, currently set at 10 kinds of raw materials (the developing countries had proposed that 18 kinds be stockpiled). When the international market price of any of the 10 kind of raw materials drops or rises beyond a prescribed standard, the international stockpiling mechanism should sell or buy this raw material in order to stabilize its price. Three years after adoption of the "comprehensive plan for commodities," the North and the South reached agreement on setting up a "joint fund" for "international stockpiling." However, the "comprehensive plan for commodities" has up to now still not truly been put into effect, first of all because the fund is inadequate, now being only \$750 million, far from the originally set figure of \$6 billion. Next, according to the agreement, the joint fund cannot be used until after the new materials-producing countries and the raw materials-consuming countries reach a specific agreement; and owing to the procrastination and obstruction on the part of the industrially developed countries, it is very hard to reach this specific agreement.

2. The issue of compensation for the drop in real income from raw materials export. Besides the price fluctuations in raw materials, the reduction of output created by natural disasters also affects the income stability of raw materials-exporting countries. There are now only two international accords under which compensatory grants and loans are provided to developing countries whose export income drops: one is the regional "Lome Accord" and the other is the supplementary accord of the "comprehensive plan for commodities." But the "Lome Accord's" compensatory fund is only 820 million European currency units (about \$1 billion). The compensatory fund of the "comprehensive plan for commodities" every year does not reach \$40 million now. Compared with the developing countries' trade deficit of \$300 billion, it is truly a drop in the bucket and of no avail.

3. The issue of the indexed price readjustment on raw materials. The developing countries have proposed that the prices of raw materials be periodically indexed to the prices of industrial products and be correspondingly readjusted. This principle, called "price indexization," can prevent the developed countries from shifting their inflation onto the developing countries and also can break the manipulation by monopoly capital of international markets. The principle of price indexization was affirmed at the 6th and 7th special sessions of the UN General Assembly. However, during dialogues and relevant negotiations between the North and the South, almost all the industrially developed countries have opposed this principle. America even proposed: Owing to the fact that the developing countries suffer losses brought about by the enlargement of the price scissors on raw materials and industrially finished products, it is up to the developing countries to make up these losses themselves by increasing the volume of export.

4. The issue of reforming the world economic structure. In order to fundamentally change the irrational phenomena with regard to the raw materials problem, the developing countries have demanded: a country should process its own raw materials so that it makes its natural resources a foundation for industrialization; should take part in the international transport, circulation, sale, and distribution of its own export commodities; should in due time have full and effective control over foreign policy making with regard to its own natural resources; and should retain its international markets for raw materials, and trade discrimination should be abolished. These demands involve a profound reform of the international economic structure, and thus are even more difficult topics in the North-South dialogue.

The dispute over raw materials has increasingly strained North-South relations. North-South negotiations up to now have not been able to solve this problem. Especially in recent years, when the developed industrialized countries have insisted on their original position and order, there has been a tendency to aggravate the North-South conflict. This situation has detrimental consequences for the world economy, the economic growth of industrial countries, and the development of developing countries. The Western industrial countries should respond to the legitimate demands of the developing countries and justly and rationally resolve the raw materials dispute so that the development of North-South relations will lead to a new situation.

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CSO: 4005/59

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOUTH KOREAN STUDENTS CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE

OW310832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0819 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Pyongyang, 31 Oct (XINHUA)--Three hundred students of Koryo University in Seoul demonstrated on October 29 and scattered leaflets denouncing the rule of the Chon Tu-hwan regime, according to a KCNA report today.

About 8 students were arrested by the police.

At Seoul University, the report said, a fierce clash took place recently between students who took part in campus activities and plainclothes men watching them. The police arrested several students.

Students of Rihwa Women's University in Seoul on October 27 scattered about 500 leaflets and appealed to fellow students to rise against the Chon Tu-hwan regime. One student was arrested.

Students of many other universities and colleges in Seoul, Kwangju and other places also rose in struggle recently.

Despite intensified control over universities by the Chon Tu-hwan regime, the South Korean students' struggle, quiet for sometime, has become active again.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DPRK PAPER CRITICIZES ROK CONCURRENT UN ENTRY CALL

OW291726 Beijing XINHUA in English 1624 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Pyongyang, 29 Oct (XINHUA)--South Korea's call for "simultaneous entry into the United Nations" is a dangerous political trap and crafty trick to keep the Korean nation divided forever, NODONG SINMUN notes today in a commentary.

Commenting on the South Korean authorities renewed claim for the simultaneous entry of both sides of Korea into the United Nations, the newspaper states that the formula was worked out by the United States and presented by Pak Chong-hui. The formula already has been rejected by world people, it says.

The commentary also says that Chon Tu-hwan has been clamouring for anti-communism and confrontation, pursuing a line of split and war and intensifying tension on the Korean peninsula. The distrust and hostility between the North and the South have increased day by day. In such circumstances, the paper goes on to say, the simultaneous entry into the U.N. will only deepen the hostility and confrontation between the two sides, and aggravate the situation on the peninsula. What is more, it will serve to legalize the splittists' "two Koreas" policy, thus laying a greater obstacle to the reunification of Korea, the paper adds.

It states that the independent and peaceful reunification of the nation is the urgent desire of the Korean people. The claim for the simultaneous entry into the U.N. runs counter to the nation's aspirations for reunification and to the current of the times.

Korea can enter the United Nations and other international organizations only if it achieves its reunification, the paper stresses, adding that people who worry about the future of the Korean nation should strive for the establishment of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ROK PROVOCATIONS AGAINST DPRK--Pyongyang, 1 Nov (XINHUA)--The South Korean puppet army fired tens of thousands of machinegun bullets into the D.P.R.K. side of the demilitarized zone, southeast of Kamsubong, in the central sector of the military demarcation line from 16:35 to 18:30 hours yesterday, according to a KCNA report. The action, the report said, constitutes a grave military provocation against the northern half of the republic and the South Korean Chon Tu-hwan clique should bear full responsibility for it. If the South Korean puppet army continues to act recklessly, the northern half of the republic will have to take proper countermeasures in self-defence, the report said. [Text] [OW010716 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 1 Nov 81]

OMAN SUPPORTS AWACS DEAL--Muscat, 1 Nov (XINHUA)--Oman has declared her support for the American AWACS deal with Saudi Arabia, according to OP (Oman Press) today. A Foreign Ministry spokesman said Saudi Arabia's acquisition of AWACS planes would bolster stability in the Arab peninsula in particular, and the Middle East in general. Saudi Arabia's strengthening of her air defence system with sophisticated military equipment would benefit the six member states of the Arab Gulf Cooperation Council, the spokesman added. Oman was fully satisfied with the United States government's approval of the sale, he said. The AWACS deal would also strengthen the existing friendly relations between the region and the United States. [Text] [OW011934 Beijing XINHUA in English 1857 GMT 1 Nov 81]

XIZANG PILGRIMS RECEPTION CENTER--The Ngari Prefecture pilgrims reception center in Xizang region was recently established in Burang County. This center has begun receiving Indian and Nepalese pilgrims. In the wake of the constant improvement and the development of the relations between the PRC and India and between the PRC and Nepal, more and more Indian and Nepalese pilgrims have gone on a pilgrimage to this county. To improve the friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples and between the Chinese and Indian peoples, the Foreign Affairs Department of the Ngari Prefectural Administrative Commissioner's office formally established the pilgrims reception center at the beginning of September. This center has interpreters and reception personnel and tour vehicles. On 18 September, the center received the first group of 18 pilgrims since 1962. The majority of these pilgrims were Indian officials. The second and third groups of Indian pilgrims will arrive in Burang County at the end of September and at the beginning of October. Before the establishment of this center, Nepalese pilgrims were received by the Burang County People's Government. Since the beginning of this year, the county has received some 800 Nepalese pilgrims. [HK231334 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 Oct 81 HK]

PARTY AND STATE

REN ZHONGYI INTERVIEWED ON 'LEFTIST INFLUENCE'

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 5, 20 Aug 81 pp 28-29

[Report on interview with Ren Zhongyi [0117 0112 1138], first secretary of the Guangdong provincial party committee, by Niu Zhengwu [3662 2973 2976]: "Removal of 'Leftist' Influence Mainly Depends on Studying"]

[Text] In the month of May in Guangzhou, the pomegranate flowers were fiery red and the fragrant yulan magnolia blossoms filled the trees. I made a special trip to this famous city in the south to interview Comrade Ren Zhongyi.

Things are not always opportune, however, because Comrade Ren Zhongyi was just then attending and conducting an important meeting--a study discussion of the leading cadres of Guangdong Province, and for the moment he could not make time to grant an interview. This slight "hitch," however, made me think earnestly about the subject of this interview: What should I discuss with Comrade Ren Zhongyi?

People are not unfamiliar with Comrade Ren Zhongyi. After the smashing of the "gang of four," he was transferred from Heilongjiang to Liaoning to take up the onerous task of bringing order out of chaos in this "major disaster area" which had been seriously damaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In Liaoning he led the cadres and the masses to launch a vigorous discussion on the question of the criteria of truth, how to earnestly implement various party policies, boldly redress and exonerate the martyr Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450], firmly open and develop country fair trade, and enthusiastically support writers and artists in creating and performing the play "spring-heralding flowers" as well as other fine works. All of this profoundly impressed people.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi has not been in Guangdong long and he would not consent to talk about his work since coming to the province. I thought I might as well first understand the substance of this study discussion of the leading cadres, so that I could perhaps find a topic for our conversation. From indirect sources I found out that this study discussion gathered together the members of the Standing Committee of the provincial party committee, the deputy provincial governor, and those were in charge of departments directly subordinate to the province in order to compare the spirit of the documents of the Central Committee Committee's work conference, to apply it to their work practices, to sum up the

lessons learned, and to launch criticism and self-criticism. Relatively good results have been obtained in removing "leftist" influence. In connection with this study discussion I recalled the ideological tendency of the society in the past period. Many people believe that we still need to continue criticizing the "left" now and in the future, but some also believe that a "rightist tendency is on the rise" and that we need to be "anti-rightist." How would Comrade Ren Zhongyi view these problems? The reader might also hope to understand this. So, after the conclusion of this cadre study discussion, this correspondent requested an interview with Comrade Ren Zhongyi, and he willingly agreed.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi welcomed this correspondent in his office. The furnishing of the office was simple and unadorned: a desk, a file cabinet, a woven bamboo sofa, and several rattan chairs. Comrade Ren let this correspondent sit on the sofa and he himself sat on a rattan chair, and our conversation began.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi said that the purpose of the study discussion was to further deepen understanding of the documents of the Central Committee's work conference, remove "leftist" influence from the guiding ideology, enhance our understanding, and remove interference in order that we might better implement the correct line, principles and policies formulated by the party since the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee. He expressed the belief that there is no longer a leftist opportunist line against which we need to struggle. By and large, what exists is the influence left behind in the minds of people by "leftist" material. However, the influence of this kind of "leftist" mentality is longstanding, very deepseated and widespread, and should never be overlooked or underestimated! The influence of the "leftist" mentality is sharply and diametrically opposed to the party's line, principles and policies. If it is not removed vigorously, we will be unable to consciously implement the party's line, principles and policies or to realize the four modernizations.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi next analyzed the characteristics of the influence of "leftist" mentality. He said that one prominent characteristic is its extensiveness. It can be said that in every place and every front there has been influence by the "left." For example, in the countryside there is fear of "wealth," which is considered revisionist; it is feared that wealth will cause polarization and that wealth means capitalism. In industry there is fear of "profit"; any mention of it is considered "putting profit in command" and capitalistic; political accounting is considered "revolution" and economic accounting is considered "revisionism." In finance and trade there is fear of "flexibility"; rigid control alone is considered socialism; flexibility is considered disorder, and a big fuss is raised at the slightest flexibility. In education there is fear of "wisdom"; the idea that "intellectual education comes first" has been criticized for a long time; knowledge is overlooked and no respect is given to intellectuals. In culture and art there is fear of "blooming." The policy of cultural confinement was enforced for so many years that some people have evolved a mentality. The word "bloom" in "let a hundred flowers bloom" seems very dangerous, for to "bloom" is to "liberalize." In factories and enterprises there is a desire to implement the system of work responsibility, but some people fear "contracts." When Guangdong and Fujian decided to set up special economic zones, some people became fearful of anything "special."

He said that "leftist" material also possesses a false revolutionary character which can therefore mislead people. Some always believe that "left" is better than right, and like to view everything from the "leftist" point of view and to judge everything according to "leftist" standards. They always suspect a "rightist" tendency in the many policies and measures adopted in the effort to bring order out of chaos as well as in the general policies and lines formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee. A cripple watching a show, as the saying goes, will see everything slanted.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi expressed the view that the influence of the "leftist" mentality is the greatest obstacle to our progress. In the implementation of various policies, in carrying out reform in various areas, and in the course of revitalizing the economy, we feel the existence of such an obstacle. Of course, one cannot ascribe all problems to the "left." For instance, opposition to the four basic principles comes from two sources. One is opposition by the "left," which has attacked the party's line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee as "rightist" and "revisionist." The other is opposition by the "right," by which, under the pretense of a "demand for democracy" and a "demand for human rights," a very small minority of people conspire to form illegal organizations, print and distribute illegal publications, craving nothing short of nationwide chaos. The tendency to violate the four basic principles must never be treated lightly. In addition, an absolute minority of people also worship things foreign and are not patriotic; they even give up their national and personal character in front of foreigners. Some cadres disregard party discipline and state law. They are corrupt, accept bribes, and take part in smuggling activities. Some people secure private gain at public expense, benefit themselves by doing harm to others, and engage in unhealthy tendencies. These problems must be concretely analyzed and resolved as they are, and we should not freely label them left or right.

At this point in the conversation, this correspondent recalled having heard the talk among some people about Guangdong being a so-called "window of the south wind," which holds that the special economic zones have "brought many problems." In discussing this problem with Comrade Ren Zhongyi, he said: Guangdong is close to Hong Kong and Macao, and in carrying out the special economic policy and establishing special economic zones, it is necessary to be a little more open toward the foreign powers. At the same time, when foreign capital and advanced technology and equipment are introduced, they unavoidably bring in some "fragrant" wind and bad odor. We must pay sufficient attention to this. In implementing the special economic policy we can never tolerate party members and cadres who do not adhere to party discipline and state law. The more open we are externally, the more strict we must make our discipline and demands internally. However, when economic policy is relaxed a little, when literature and propaganda are a bit more flexible, and when there is a little more variety in people's dress, we should not treat this as a problem and make a fuss.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi then said that ideologically we should maintain the struggle in two areas: opposing the "left" and also guarding against the right. But in terms of the guiding ideology, the emphasis should be on removing the influence of "leftist" mentality. We should never equate and treat opposition to the "left" and guarding against the right in the same way. We should not

resist or slacken the removal of the influence of "leftist" ideology on the pretext of guarding against the right.

How, then, can the influence of "leftist" mentality be removed? Comrade Ren Zongyi expressed the view that the removal of the influence of "leftist" mentality differs from the historical struggle against leftist opportunism. We cannot adopt the form of struggle used in the past, but should mainly rely on studying and on carrying forward the fine learning style of combining theory and reality. He said that for many years many of our comrades were easily influenced by the "left" and often mistook "leftist" material for Marxist-Leninism, chiefly due to a shallow theoretical basis and insufficient training in the fundamental theory of Marxism-Leninism. Quite a number of comrades studied a little in the past, but for a long time there was a bad tendency in theoretical studies, of "superior-mindedness," and this could not even be regarded as "bookishness." In addition, for many years numerous matters of right and wrong in fundamental theory were confused, and some erroneous theoretical viewpoints became deep-seated in the minds of a lot of people. Therefore, it is not possible to remove the influence of "leftist" mentality now without studying anew.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi expressed the view that the main characteristics of the confusion regarding basic theoretical problems are: First, confusing the relationship between the material and the spiritual. This has had a very bad influence on people's mentality. Disregarding objective facts, proceeding from concepts and dogmas rather than reality, and even engaging in the two "whatevers" are all related to this influence. Second, confusing the relationship between productive forces and production relations, on one hand, and the economic foundation and superstructure on the other. Resistance to economic reforms and admonition against establishing diverse forms of work responsibility systems in agricultural production are related to this influence. These theoretical errors extend many "leftist" points of view and "leftist" policies. This analysis by Comrade Ren Zhongyi clearly shows how important it is to make up missed lessons on basic theoretical problems.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi told this correspondent that the party committee at all levels in Guangdong Province must continue to hold study discussions and remove the influence of "leftist" ideology through the deep-going study of theory. Apart from studying the documents of the party Central Committee, they should study a little of the writings of Marx, Lenin, and Chairman Mao. In the course of this, they must earnestly sum up the many years of both positive and negative experience, launch criticism and self-criticism. Of course, criticism and self-criticism must be carried out on a conscientious basis, never engaging in any movement or letting people just get by.

This correspondent wrote this article on the interview after returning from the south. Before it was published, the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee was convened. In Beijing, this correspondent again met Comrade Ren Zhongyi. He said elatedly that the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session was both a summary of historical experience and the guiding principle for bringing order out of chaos, for carrying forward the revolutionary cause

and forging ahead into the future. We must study the "Resolution" in earnest and use this ideological weapon to further remove the "leftist" influence and to unify ideological understanding. In this way we will even more consciously unite around the party Central Committee, work together with one heart, and open up new prospects on the path of the four modernizations.

9586

CSO: 4005/21

PARTY AND STATE

IMPROVING PARTY STYLE FOR GREATER DEMOCRACY

Beijing XIN SHIQI [NEW ERA] in Chinese No 8, Aug 81 pp 8-11

[Article by Wang Ruoshui [3769 5387 3055]: "Party Style and Democracy"]

[Text] The "Resolution on the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation" points out: "The issue of the style of the party in power is linked with its life or death." These are weighty words which call for our conscientious understanding.

I remember when we first entered the city of Beijing in 1949, the democratic figures and high level intellectuals, during their studies, asked a question: Is it possible for the Communist Party to degenerate? They felt that the Chinese Communist Party was good, but wondered whether it would always remain so. At that time, a responsible comrade answered: The Communist Party will not degenerate, because it practices self-criticism. Many people were satisfied with the answer, but some remained doubtful. A professor of Beijing University said to me: Then, is it possible for the Communist Party not to criticize itself one day?

The question has always stayed in my mind. Subsequent facts showed that the professor's question was well put. If self-criticism will keep the party forever safe from degeneration, then what will guarantee that it will always follow the practice of self-criticism? If this problem is not solved, the party still runs the risk of degeneration. Actually, in the history of the international communist movement, it was not rare for the parties in power to run into problems. We must admit the existence of the possibility before we can make up our mind to find the means of prevention.

I once read a pamphlet by Huang Yanpei [7806 3508 1014] entitled "Return from Yanan." He visited Yanan in 1945, saw Chairman Mao and discussed his thoughts. He said to Chairman Mao: In my life of 60 plus years, I have seen many who indeed "rose suddenly" and "perished suddenly." An individual, a family, an organization, an area, and even a country--many cannot escape the control of this cycle. Most of them find themselves in hardships and difficulties at the beginning and have to fight for survival. Therefore, they concentrate their

attention, using extreme care in everything they do, with everyone exerting himself. When the circumstances improve, they gradually slacken their concentration. As time passes, inertia sets in, spreading from a few to the majority. Once it becomes a trend, it is impossible to reverse it even with a vigorous effort. In history, there were instances of "slack government and successful officials," "people perishing and government ceasing," and "seeking honor and gaining disgrace." Therefore, I hope that the Chinese Communist Party will find a new way to escape the control of this cycle.

According to Huang Yanpei's record, Chairman Mao answered: We have already found a new way, and we will escape this cycle. The new way is democracy. Only by letting the people supervise the government will the government be afraid to slacken. Only when everyone takes the responsibility will the situation of "people perishing and government ceasing" be avoided.

The answer is a solution to the problem. While self-criticism is a good medicine for degeneration, a person may sometimes "hide his illness for fear of treatment" and refuse to take the medicine. Thus, it requires the people to see that he takes it. In other words, we must use democracy to guarantee that the party follow the practice of self-criticism. Self-criticism is a democratic practice. However, the democracy mentioned by Chairman Mao above refers to a state system. It is democracy in its original meaning. Criticism and self-criticism, as a sort of party practice, may possibly be preserved or discarded. However, once the people truly become the masters, once we have a sound socialist democratic system, then, the people will be able to supervise the party, prevent it from degeneration and help it preserve its superior traditional style, including self-criticism. The people will not relinquish their democratic rights. Therefore, a sound socialist democratic system is a guarantee against the degeneration of the party. To prevent a drop of water from drying up, the method is to place it in the ocean; to prevent the party and the leaders from degeneration, the method is to place them in the masses.

Actually, the problem had long occurred to Marx and Engels. When summarizing the experience of the Paris Commune, they declared that the situation where the public servants of society turned into its masters must be prevented. They also proposed the method of solution, which was the general election and the low salary systems. Following its spirit today, one may say that it is to introduce a socialist democracy and abolish prerogatives.

On the eve of the founding of the nation, Chairman Mao foresaw the problems accompanying victory. Guo Moruo's [4753 3106 5387] "300-Year Memorial Ceremony of Jiashen" was printed and distributed in 1944; the 2d Plenary Session of the 7th Party Central Committee sounded the warning bell to the entire party in 1949. In the early days after the founding of the nation, besides launching the movement against the "three evils," we continuously rectified the party and its style. The party of those days indeed maintained its superior traditions and won universal acclaim from the people. As the party style was good, the mood of the entire society also became good.

Until the party's "Eighth Congress," the issue remained in an important position. The resolution of the "Eighth Congress" declared that, as the Chinese Communist Party had become the party in power, it must pay special attention to modesty and prudence, guard against conceit and haste and combat bureaucraticism. It also stated that, in view of the party's leadership position, it became even more necessary to carry out criticisms and self-criticisms. In his "Report on Revising the Party Constitution," Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The position of the party in power is a new test confronting us," because "it can easily make our comrades become contaminated with bureaucratic habits," severed from reality and the masses; therefore, "we need to practice the internal supervision of the party, and also the supervision of the party organizations and party members by the masses and figures outside the party." His words were correct.

The problem first occurred in 1957. In that year, Comrade Mao Zedong published his famous article entitled "on Correctly Handling the Internal Contradictions within the People," stressing the use of democratic methods for their solution. Not long thereafter, a rectification movement was launched in the entire party, and the masses were activated to make criticisms and suggestions. However, in the later stage of the movement, the struggle against a very small number of rightists who attacked the party was expanded, and many who expressed critical opinions to the party with good intentions were condemned as rightists. Thereafter, many people no longer dared to tell the truth and express their critical opinions. Thus, the rashness of 1958 was able to spread without restraint. However, there were still some in the party who dared to speak out, but they were knocked down in the "anti-rightwing" movement of 1959. As a result, criticisms and suggestions inside and outside the party were stifled.

At a mass meeting of 7,000 people in early 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong again emphasized the importance of democratic centralism. The present "Resolution" states that the meeting "preliminarily summarized the experiential lessons of the 'great leap forward' and launched criticisms and self-criticisms. Before and after the meeting, most of the comrades erroneously criticized in the 'anti-rightwing' movement were reexamined and rehabilitated. In addition, the labels were removed from the majority of those classified as 'rightists.'" However, by the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee in September of that year, the climate again changed, and the erroneous leftwing theme again raised its head. Thereafter, it developed all the way to the "Great Cultural Revolution."

During the "Great Cultural Revolution," the party's leading cadres were classified into two kinds of people: One kind included those of the "bourgeois command post," who could be criticized in whatever way, and who had no right to defend themselves. The moment they offered an argument, they were accused of "furious counterattack" and became doubly guilty. The other kind consisted of those of the "proletarian command post," who enjoyed the prerogative of freedom from criticism. No one could touch a hair on their heads. They could only be praised, not criticized; otherwise, it would be "smashing the villain." The fact was that the problem was precisely with the "proletarian command post." As a result, the party style was greatly undermined, and its degeneration greatly aggravated.

Until today there are still people who feel that the "Great Cultural Revolution" was ultra-democracy or large democracy; that it was excessive democracy. Therefore, they want to learn a lesson: Democracy is a dangerous thing; now is not the time to stress democracy. Where was any democracy in the "Great Cultural Revolution?" It was only feudal fascist dictatorship plus anarchism. One must not mistake anarchism for democracy. It was claimed that there were "four great" freedoms, but just try to post a large-letter poster criticizing the "gang of four!" Did not the Tiananmen incident make it very clear? Was not Zhang Zhixin's [1728 1807 2450] sacrifice a lesson? Actually, the "Great Cultural Revolution" was the greatest undemocracy; it was imposed by a minority on the 800 million people. Had our country had a truly sound socialist democracy and legal system, it would have been basically impossible for the "Great Cultural Revolution" to have occurred.

The "Resolution" points out: "For a number of reasons, we did not systematize and legalize inner-party democracy and the democracy of state, political and social life. Or, though laws were formulated, they lacked the proper authority. Thus, a condition was created: When the party's power was overconcentrated in individuals and when the phenomenon of arbitrary decision by individuals and personality cult in the party developed, it was difficult for the party and the state to prevent and restrain the start and development of the 'Great Cultural Revolution.'" It was a very important experiential lesson.

Reviewing the history since the founding of the nation, we will see that our party originally possessed the superior style of criticism and self-criticism, but styles could be discarded. At the mass meeting celebrating the 60th anniversary of the party, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: Our party's good tradition of criticism and self-criticism suffered a serious damage in a period in the past. Today, it is being restored and developed, and some good new experiences have been amassed." This thesis is compatible with the practical conditions.

The "good new experiences" naturally are not limited to only one. According to my personal understanding, one important experience is that democracy must be interpreted not only as a style, but also as a state system.

For a period in the past, the moment "democracy" was mentioned, people thought of criticism and self-criticism, humbly heeding the opinions of the masses and permitting others to speak, including derogatory remarks of oneself. These are naturally all very important, but they are not enough.

Whether "permitting others to speak," "developing democracy" or "collecting the opinions of the masses," the subject is omitted. Who "permit" others to speak? Who "develop" democracy? Who "collect" the opinions of the masses? It is the leading organs and cadres. Since they may "permit others to speak," naturally they may also prohibit them from doing so. Even if people are permitted to speak, there is still the question of whether they will be heeded. If one runs into a diehard bureaucrat who "ignores the taunts and derisions and follows his own bureaucratic ways," what can one do?

In fact, if it is only "permitting others to speak," "carefully listening to opinions" and making self-criticisms, then, certain feudal monarchs were able to do so. The First Emperor of Tang, for instance, "followed advices gladly," and Emperor Chongzhen twice issued "edicts blaming himself." Is it conceivable for us to restrict the concept of "democracy" to such method and style?

The county magistrate in the operatic film "Sesame Official of the Seventh Grade" said: "If an official does not make decisions for the people, it is better to go home and sell potatoes." These words won much acclaim. In the feudal era, it was very good when the officials were willing to "make decisions for the people" and they deserved praises. However, that the common people begged the county magistrate to "make decisions for the people" was precisely because they could not make their own decisions. They were not their own masters and had no control of their own destiny. They could only pray to Heaven for a wise monarch or an honest official who was willing to do some good for the common people, and they would find themselves fortunate. If Heaven sent down a tyrant or a corrupt official, the common people deserved to be out of luck.

Talking about democracy today, we must never be guided by such thinking, but by historical materialism, recognizing the masses as the creators of history, the liberators of themselves, and the masters of their own destiny. What we need now is not "making decisions for the people," but "the people making decisions." The difference of one word reveals the essential difference of two kinds of political ideals.

"People making decisions" denotes the people's position in the state and the kind of state system. Democracy in this sense is different not only from "making decisions for the people" of the bureaucratic lords of old, but also from "developing democracy" and "permitting others to speak" of today.

Where is the difference? The word "people" changes from the object to the subject. The word "others" in "permitting others to speak," for instance, is the object. However, the people's right to speak and right to criticize are provided in the constitution and form part of our system, and they may not be prohibited from speaking. Do they only have the right to speak? No. The people also have the power to decide on state affairs and to manage the state. According to the constitution, all powers of the People's Republic of China belong to the people. The people may not only criticize the leading organs and cadres, but also select the public servants preferred by them and dismiss those who are not satisfactory. They may not only express their views on state affairs, but also legislate, make decisions and supervise the work of the government. In short, the people are the subject; the people rise up and take the responsibility; the people exercise the authority of the masters. Only thus will the degeneration of the party in power and leading cadres be prevented. Only thus will we escape the control of the cycle of several thousand years.

As aptly stated by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his "Speech," "after the revolutionary victory, the people have become the masters of the state and society. The most

essential substance of the party's leadership of state life is to organize and support the people as the masters and build a socialist new life." The "Resolution" also points out the necessity to guarantee that the activities of the leading figures "remain under the supervision of the party and the people." In recent years, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, we are further systematizing and legalizing the socialist democracy. It is an excellent thing, supported by the broad party members and masses.

Naturally, just to have a system is not equivalent to all's well with the world; we must still struggle for democratic centralism. This also is our historical experience.

6080

CSO: 4005/42

INTEGRATION OF CREATIVITY WITH DISCIPLINE STRESSED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Sep 81 p 3

[Ideological review by Zhai Wen [5049 3080]: "Insist on Integration of Initiative and Creativity with Organization-Consciousness and Discipline"]

[Text] In our inner-party life at present the following situation often exists: when inattention to giving scope to a party member's initiative and creativity is being corrected, some comrades often tend to overlook organization and discipline and manifest certain tendencies of extreme individualism, liberalism, anarchism, and bourgeois liberalization; when emphasis is being placed on making the party's organization and discipline more strict, they somehow become inhibited here and there and lack the proper spirit of initiative in their work. Although situations such as these are reflected only among a small part of our comrades, we can by no means ignore the influence they bring with them. We should insist that attention be given to this matter and that it be analyzed in order to find a way to solve this problem.

First of all, we should integrate the development of initiative and creativity with organization-consciousness and discipline on the basis of correctly understanding and implementing the party's principles and policies. The initiative and creativity which our party requires each party member to develop to the maximum in general mean the spirit of initiative, the spirit of down-to-earth work, and the spirit of innovation with which they adhere to, and carry out, the party's principles and policies. The organization-consciousness and discipline which our party requires each party member to continuously strengthen in general mean conscious maintenance of consistency with the party Central Committee in their implementation of the party's principles and policies. Therefore, when a communist is able to unite the party Central Committee's line, principles and policies with actual situations, exert all his intelligence and talent, and creatively realize the party's propositions, then we should affirm that this comrade has both given considerable scope to initiative and creativity and manifested a high degree of organization-consciousness and discipline. In the past few years, whether in terms of taking the responsibility to implement cadre policies, rectify unjust, false and erroneous cases of litigation, or carrying out principles of economic readjustment, improving the management of enterprises, promoting the responsibility system in agricultural production, developing diversification, adhering to the four basic principles, ameliorating our ideological and political work, etc, many comrades within the party have given an outstanding performance; the basic reason for this is that they accepted the party's principles and policies, their thinking was relatively liberated, they were able to seriously

study new situations and new problems, they consciously cleansed the influence of leftist or other erroneous ideas, and they dared to proceed and were good at proceeding from the actualities of their own units in developing their own work independently and responsibly. They did not consider that maintaining consistency with the party Central Committee in politics restricted their own initiative or creativity in any way; on the contrary, they always gained wisdom and strength in starting out on their phase of work through the study and implementation of the party's principles and policies. If one is satisfied only with copying and transmitting the party's principles and policies, if when he encounters obstacles he immediately becomes negative and resorts to sabotage or does whatever he pleases, and acts recklessly and blindly, then it will be very difficult for him to integrate the development of initiative and creativity with the observation of organization-consciousness and discipline.

Second, we should integrate the development of initiative and creativity with the observation of organization-consciousness and discipline under the principle of consciously carrying out democratic centralism. Highly developing democracy is the foundation for carrying out correct centralism. It requires party members, in their inner-party life, to have the courage and the dexterity to propose questions, express opinions, amplify achievements, criticize defects, and actively exercise the democratic rights conferred upon them by the party constitution. This is just as Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The so-called development of enthusiasm must be reflected concretely in the creative capability, the responsible spirit, and the energetic outlook at work on the part of the leading organs, cadres and party members, in the courage and dexterity with which they propose questions, express opinions, and criticize defects, as well as in the role of supervision exercised over such leading organs and leading cadres from the caring and protective point of view." At the same time, we cannot do without a high degree of centralism based on a high degree of democracy, we cannot but oppose the conduct of those who openly propagate propositions different from those of the party Central Committee and those who place themselves as individuals above the party organization. In doing so, we do not mean to, nor will we, suppress democracy or constrain the party members' initiative and creativity, but we will make it possible precisely for every party member to exert his initiative and creativity even better in our normal democratic life, and effectively organize such initiative and creativity in a direction consistent with that of the party, so that they can engender an influence several times greater than that which is possible under a dissipated condition. In a word, as long as we adhere to the principle of democratic centralism, avoid partiality and absolutization in our thinking, and achieve an integration of the development of our initiative and creativity with out organization-consciousness and discipline, things will not be very difficult.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has led us to insist on returning to order from disorder, rectify the guiding ideology, establish correct principles and policies, and revive and strengthen inner-party life. The Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee passed the "Resolution," reelected and elected additional principal leading members of the party Central Committee. The results of these endeavors have already provided good objective conditions for the vast ranks of the party members to integrate their initiative and creativity with their organization-consciousness and sense of discipline. Today, how to guide those party members who have not yet been able to integrate their initiative and creativity with the organization-consciousness and sense of discipline very well to overcome certain deviations in their thinking and their conduct in time to prevent them from advancing from one kind of partiality to

another kind of partiality is a question very much worthy of our attention. For example: 1) when a certain deviation occurs, we must calmly analyze the situation and appropriately judge its manifestation, its extent, and its degree; either underestimation or overestimation would result in misjudgment in providing guidance for work. 2) When someone at a superior level criticizes a certain aspect of a certain deviation in a certain locality, other localities should carefully analyze the actual situation in their own respective area; any problem that exists in your locality is your specific problem, and how much of that problem exists is then the extent or degree of that problem. What is to be earnestly avoided most is to blindly "stir up a wind." The existence of both [leftist and rightist] kinds of deviation at the same time is found quite often; while attempting to grasp the main deviation in a given period and solve it, we must at the same time pay attention to peripheral and temporarily inconspicuous deviations. 3). Once a certain deviation occurs and the mistakes of a certain group of individual are subject to criticism, we must carry out concrete analysis and provide active guidance. Foregoing principle or condoning and placating mistakes is wrong; exaggerating at random or easily "raising questions to the higher plane of principle and line" is also wrong. We must strictly distinguish the improper use of words from mistakes in the political point of view, and questions in ideological perception from questions of fundamental political stand. We must especially not take the expression of different opinions within the party in accordance with organizational principles as willful resistance or confrontation, or take someone's attitude of reservation maintained because he cannot think through certain questions for the time being as insistence on his mistakes.

Leading organs and leading cadres at various levels must take the process of overcoming the deviations which occur in the development of our initiative and creativity and the strengthening of our organization-consciousness and discipline as the very process through which the party, under the guidance of correct principles and policies, protects and supports the vast ranks of the party members so that they dare to think, dare to act, dare to shoulder responsibilities independently, and dare to work without inhibitions. All methods which contribute toward the attainment of this goal must be promoted; all methods which hinder the attainment of this goal must be changed or improved upon.

9255

CSO: 4005/36

PARTY AND STATE

STRENGTHENING PARTY LEADERSHIP OVER IDEOLOGICAL WORK URGED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 81 p 1

[Dispatch from the office of the Propaganda Department, provincial party committee: "Meeting of Heads of Regional, Municipal and County Party Committee Propaganda Departments Asks Various Localities To Seriously Change the State of Laxity and Feebleness, Earnestly Strengthen Party Leadership Over Ideological Work"]

[Text] Strengthen party leadership over ideological work, change the state of laxity and feebleness, overcome the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization, and adhere to the four basic principles: these were the themes discussed at the recently convened meeting of heads of regional, municipal and country party committee propaganda departments throughout the province.

Participating in the meeting, which was held 9-16 September, were heads of regional, municipal and county party committee propaganda departments throughout the province and responsible comrades in charge of the ideological and political work of provincial departments, commissions, offices and trade unions, and youth and women's organizations, numbering altogether 125.

Leading comrades of the provincial party committee were present at the meeting to speak on several questions concerning the ideological front; the participating comrades seriously discussed these questions and unanimously supported their views.

The meeting held that an important question on the ideological front at present is to change the state of laxity and feebleness in the leadership ranks. We are determined to uphold the Central Committee's directives on the solution of this question. We must launch criticism against the already emergent tendency of bourgeois liberalization, which deviates from party leadership and from the course of socialism. In Fujian, for example, multiple manifestations of leadership laxity and feebleness have been exhibited: not only has criticism against bourgeois liberalization not been sufficiently expressed, but there has also been a lack of sufficiently vigorous struggle against devious trends and unorthodox practices within the party ranks and a lack of sufficiently severe crackdown on the criminal elements who resort to overseas smuggling, speculation and double-dealing as well as sabotaging of social order. The meeting agreed with the opinions expressed by the leading comrades of the provincial party committee: laxity and feebleness

constitute a problem in our leadership, and the responsibility lies with the provincial party committee. In respect to those below, the main question is one of education; there is no need to resort to inspection and examination at each level. It is necessary to affirm that, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the results achieved on the propaganda, education, science, literary, information, publication, and theoretical fronts in our Fujian Province are the main thing. The ideological state is on the whole healthy. Such a good situation has been rare for many years. But at the same time we must also see that among some of the people there still exists the tendency toward wishing to cast off party leadership and the erroneous tendency toward "looking at money," looking at the bourgeois style of life, as well as the bad habit of being intolerant of commendation and intolerant of criticism, as once a person is commended he also becomes isolated, and once a person is criticized he also becomes opposed to the critic. In some localities religious activities have begun to prevail and feudal superstitions have become rampant. Struggling against such devious trends and practices and such pernicious tendencies has especially great significance to our Fujian Province, which is implementing special policies and flexible measures.

The meeting stressed the importance of correctly carrying out criticism and self-criticism and also put forward tasks and requirements on the ideological front. The meeting pointed out: we must believe that on the ideological front the overwhelming majority of comrades support the party leadership and wish to follow the socialist path, and even if they have exhibited some defects or made some mistakes, they are still willing to correct them. With respect to the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization that has already emerged in some literary circles and in circles of intellectuals and youths and students, we must adopt the method of criticism and self-criticism; we must adopt the dredging approach in the manner of the gentle breeze and the drizzling rain; we must take the attitude of wishing to render warm help and to achieve unity. We cannot afford to be simplistic and crude, or to resort to sophistry or to wield the big stick, much less to start some movement. In order to solve the ideological problem among the masses of the people at present, along with strengthening our ideological and political work, we must at the same time make up our minds to make a success of our industrial and agricultural production, make a success of our economic work; we must also energetically rectify our party workstyle and dare to launch resolute struggles against bad people and bad things; with respect to smuggling rings and elements sabotaging social order and committing criminal offenses, we must execute a swift and severe crackdown on them most rigorously. Under the premise of adhering to the four basic principles, our entire ideological front must continue to emancipate people's thinking, give scope to socialist democracy, strengthen the socialist legal system, cleanse the influence of leftist ideas, unswervingly implement the "double-hundred" principle and the major decisions of opening to the outside world, delegating power downward, and liberalizing our policies in order to invigorate our economy and enliven our thinking.

The meeting analyzed the question of the relationship between correctly solving the cleansing of the influence of leftist ideas and the criticizing of the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization. From the point of view of the leadership, it is necessary both to solve the state of laxity and feebleness and continue to cleanse the left erroneous tendencies that have been dominant for along time. The provincial

party committee has repeatedly stressed the emancipation of our thinking, giving scope to democracy, and cleansing the left erroneous tendencies in our guiding ideology: all this has been correct. But this task is not yet accomplished. At the meeting, many comrades sharply asked: Have we done enough to emancipate our thinking? Have we done enough to give scope to democracy? Have we done enough to criticize leftist things? Have we done too much, or not enough? Everybody was of the opinion that it is not that we have done too much, but not enough. There was never any question of having done too much. Without cleansing the leftist matters, it is impossible to solve the question of bourgeois liberalization. The reason such a tendency as liberalization has appeared is first of all because of the influence of the bourgeois ideology and in the second place because of a reaction on the part of the long standing leftist ideas. Hence, cleansing the influence of leftist ideas and criticizing liberalization are consistent with each other, and the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session and the national forum on questions on the ideological front are also consistent with each other; we should not put the two in opposition to each other but should correctly launch our struggles on the two fronts.

The meeting held that the whole party must pay attention to questions on the ideological front and to strengthening our ideological and political work. Questions on the ideological front cannot be understood as being the concern only of the propaganda departments; they are the work of the whole party, the basic work of the party. The party's basic work has to do with no other than ideological construction and organizational construction. At present, we must do a good job in propagating the "Resolution;" we must unify the understanding of the whole party under the conclusions of the "Resolution." We must promote further political stability and unity through penetrating study and extensive propagation of the "Resolution" in order to maintain even greater political consistency with the party Central Committee.

We must also do a good job in carrying out our economic propaganda work; we must promote various forms of the responsibility system in agriculture, in industry, in commerce, in communications and in various enterprises and trades in general; we must likewise maintain our stability in our policy decisions. We must propagate market adjustment under the guidance of state plans and dare to let some people "stand out," let some people get rich first, and not feel apprehensive about the appearance of "outstanding households." But we must also educate people to obey state laws, follow state plans, correctly handle the relationship between the state, the collective and themselves, so that all can consciously and actively help accomplish the state's purchasing tasks.

Our newspaper and journals, radio broadcasts, and movie propaganda must, along with criticizing the tendency toward liberalization, at the same time encourage writers to emancipate their thinking, enliven their creations, and produce more good works for socialism.

With regard to the question of religion, we must pay attention to the implementation of our religious policies and respect the religious beliefs of followers of religions, but permission should not be given to those who wish to take advantage of religious activities in order to resort to illegal activities, still less to those who attempt to carry our illicit communication with foreign countries and resort to activities of infiltration and subversion.

Fujian Province is one which opens to the outside world. We must actively develop our external economic activities, expand our foreign trade, adopt even more favorable and more protective policies in respect to investment by foreign businessmen, and at the same time pay great attention to erosion by bourgeois ideology and resolutely resist the influence of bourgeois ideology.

9255

CSO: 4005/39

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

PLA UNITS--Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese on 18 October, on pages 2 and 3 a roll of honor of individuals and units who gained merit in combatting floods in Sichuan during the past summer. Individual members of the following PLA units stationed in Sichuan are honored: the No 3 flying wing of unit 39753; the 1st company of unit 56030; the 82 recoilless gun company of unit 56039; machine-gun company of unit 56044; boat bridge company of unit 56015; special duties company of unit 56033; special duties company of unit 56028; 3d company of unit 56156; boat bridge company of unit 56018; unit 56042; unit 56262; 2nd company of unit 56034; 6th company of unit 56178. The following units of Chengdu Military Region are honored: 56028, 56030; boat bridge company of unit 56013; hospital of unit 56015; 100 mortar company of unit 56031; units 56032, 56033, 56084; boat bridge company of unit 56015; unit 56034; 3d cannon company of unit 56085; engineering battalion and 1st company of antiaircraft gun battalion of unit 56017; boat bridge company of unit 56005; unit 56039; boat bridge company of unit 56016; unit 56042; boat bridge company of unit 56018; units 56044, 56045, 56173; political section of unit 00300; unit 56180; special duties company of unit 56182; special duties company of unit 56183; units 56172, 86727; units 39527, 87476, 39753; 3d company of unit 86881; units 56105, 56109, 56156; 59th detachment of Chengdu Military Region HQ; 4 hostel of Chengdu Military Region; PLA 51st army hospital; PLA 39th army hospital; 43d detachment of unit 56229; units 56241, 56262; 1st student squadron of 1st technical school of PLA capital construction corps; political section of unit 89778; political and administrative department of PLA logistics engineering college. [HK300202 Editorial Report]

CSO: 4005/156

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

LITERARY JOURNAL--Beijing, 27 Oct (XINHUA)--Literary and art works should keep to the socialist road and to the orientation of serving the worker-peasant-soldier masses and should portray socialist new people and things emerging from among the workers and peasants. This was the consensus of opinion of commune members, rural cadres, teachers and factory workers at two recent meetings sponsored by the editorial department of the journal ZHONGGUO TONGSU WENYI [0022 0948 6639 0198 2429 5669 CHINESE POPULAR LITERATURE AND ART], a literary monthly published in April this year, read mainly by worker-peasant-soldier masses, primary and secondary school teachers and educated youths. They were opposed to going after bourgeois liberalism and digressing from the socialist road in publishing magazines or books and making films. [OW311105 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1155 GMT 27 Oct 81 OW]

XIZANG LITERARY, ART CONGRESS--The first Xizang regional congress of literary and artistic workers opened in Lhasa on 5 October. The congress established the Xizang Regional Federation of Literary and Art Circles. The congress also held the first festivals of the regional association of writers and folk literary workers, the regional association of dramatists and folk artists, the regional association of musicians and dancers and the regional association of artists and photographers. The congress also established the organization of all the federations. The tasks of this congress are to sum up the positive and negative experiences of this region in literary and artistic work, continue to eliminate leftist ideology, criticize the tendency of bourgeois liberalization and promote the healthy development of this region's socialist minority literature and art. The congress elected the leading positions in the regional federation of literary and art circles. Literary and artistic workers of regional subordinate organs, all prefectures and municipalities and PLA units stationed in the region elected approximately 300 delegates who were organized into the 9 delegations who attended the congress. A delegation which was sent by the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and was comprised of responsible persons of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, famous writers and artists also attended the congress. [HK231334 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 Oct 81 HK]

YUNNAN SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION--According to a YUNNAN RIBAO report, the Kunming inspection group of the Yunnan Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee inspected certain units of the Kunming municipal commercial and educational systems from 31 March this year onwards and has thus put forth three suggestions

in relation to how to grasp well building of socialist spiritual civilization: 1) all units must stress ideological and political work. All schools must implement, in an overall way, the party's educational policies, and service catering trades must educate the workers and staff to correctly deal with the related interests of the state, the collective and the individual; 2) all leaders must take the lead in giving play to the spirit of arduous struggle and make known the difficulties to the people enabling them to understand the country's situation; 3) schools, shops and organs must all promote work style; they must work in coordination with each other and learn from each other. On the afternoon of 17 September, the Kunming inspection group talked with the leaders of the Kunming Municipal People's Government at a forum and exchanged opinions on the building of socialist spiritual civilization. [HK110330 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Sep 81 HK]

SYMPOSIUM ON NOVEL--Jinan, 30 Oct (XINHUA)--The literary artistry of the classical Chinese novel "A Dream of Red Mansions" was the major topic of discussion at the 1981 national symposium on this novel held recently in Jinan, capital of Shandong Province. One hundred and fifty scholars attended the 6-day symposium. Zhou Ruchang, one of China's best-known researchers on the novel, said that the 18th century author, Cao Xueqin, was an original writer of high artistic merit. Zhang Bilai, vice-president of the Chinese Society for the study of the novel "A Dream of Red Mansions," welcomed scholars from Taiwan to come to the mainland and visit the places of historic interest linked with the novel. He urged that the scholars in Taiwan and mainland should exchange books, journals and data and should cooperate in preparing the meeting in commemoration of the 220th anniversary of Cao Xueqin's death and the international symposium on the novel, both expected to be held in Beijing in 1984. [Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 30 Oct 81 OW]

CSO: 4000/9

U.S RESPONSIBILITY FOR TAIWAN PROBLEM DISCUSSED

HK270947 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 26 Oct 81 p 1

[Article by Kuan Chien-tzu [4619 6015 1311]: "The U.S. Has a Share of Responsibility for the Taiwan Problem"]

[Text] Our Kuomintang friends have paid close attention to the international influences of Beijing's peace talk proposals. They time and again pointed out that the peace talk proposal put forth by the Chinese Communist Party is "aimed at confusing world opinion." They repeatedly urged international personages not to be "fooled by the Chinese Communist Party."

This is a strange and interesting thing. The peace talk proposal is issued to the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan and the party invited to the peace talks is Kuomintang rather than "international personages." Since the Kuomintang authorities reject the proposal, why should they worry about the possibility that "international personages" would be taken in? Could these "international personages" participate in the peace talks on behalf of the Kuomintang or order the Kuomintang to attend the peace talks?

The "international personages" who can make the Kuomintang feel perplexed and alarmed should be those who are pursuing the "Taiwan relation act" and straddling the "unsinkable aircraft carrier." Are they not the Americans?

Recently when the Chinese Premier Zhou Ziyang was attending the North-South meeting held in Mexico, the U.S. President Reagan invited him to a working lunch. They talked about the Taiwan problem. According to the reports by foreign news agencies, after the talks the United States would adopt a more cautious attitude toward the problem of selling weapons to Taiwan.

Those who cherished "a gleam of hope" feel perplexed and alarmed again, saying that the Chinese Communist Party has pulled the United States over to its side to interfere in China's internal affairs.

The fact that China and the United States talked about the problem of Taiwan means that China has taken the stand to defend its independence and sovereignty. Apart from internal factors, the U.S. policy is also a reason why Taiwan has become a

"problem." In the early 1950's, the U.S. President Truman sent the Seventh Fleet to the Taiwan Straits to invade and occupy Taiwan and implement the "policy of two Chinas." In so doing, the United States hampered the peaceful reunification of our country. We still remember that in 1958 the Chinese Defense Ministry issued an open letter to our compatriots in Taiwan, Penghu, Jinmen and Mazu, saying: "We are all Chinese. Peace is the best of the 36 stratagems." This statement was made by Chairman Mao. He also urged the Kuomintang troops not to withdraw from Jinmen and Mazu. However, the U.S. Secretary of State Dulles went to Taiwan personally to force the Kuomintang "late President the revered Mr Chiang" to withdraw his troops from Jinmen and Mazu. He intended to take the Taiwan Straits as a boundary between "big China" and "small China." Therefore, Beijing's peace proposals were always without results. Luckily the Kuomintang did not succumb to the pressure of the United States to withdraw its troops from the above-mentioned islands.

Now the United States and China have established diplomatic relations. However, the United States is still concocting the so-called "Taiwan relations act." The lotus root snaps but its fibers stay joined. Last year, on the eve or shortly after Reagan assumed power, the United States spread the news that it would resume "official relations" with Taiwan and that it would sell fighter planes to Taiwan. If the United States does so, this will mean interfering in China's internal affairs and giving Taiwan verbal or actual support so that it will refuse peace talks.

China held talks with the United States on the Taiwan problem. China never tries to draw the United States to its side, but urges the United States to stop interfering in China's internal affairs. This is entirely different from what Taiwan is doing. Taiwan hopes that the United States will not be taken in and that it will not abandon the "Taiwan relations act."

The United States has a share of responsibility for the Taiwan problem, because it is still interfering in this matter. It should stop the interference immediately.

CSO: 4005/159

HU YAOBANG MEETS XIZANG DRAMA TROUPE

HK191510 Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 18 Oct 81 p 7

[Report: 'Hu Yaobang's Recent Conversation With Xizang Artists']

[Text] Not long ago, Hu Yaobang and Wan Li met the Xizang modern drama troupe in Zhongnanhai, Beijing and talked with its members. Hu Yaobang uttered a number of "actor's lines," such as "I am 66 years old and will probably die someday" and so forth.

His conversation has neither been published by newspapers and magazines in foreign countries nor by Beijing's RENMIN RIBAO nor HONGQI. However, it is published by XIJU YISHU [DRAMATIC ART] a Beijing magazine which receives little attention. The following are some excerpts of Hu Yaobang's conversation:

Hu Yaobang: Who is the head of this troupe?

Shu Ku.: He hasn't come. She is the deputy head of the troupe.

Hu Yaobang: (Turns to Zhuo Ma) Are you of Xizang nationality? (Some people said that Zhuo Ma and Ren Wang play the parts of a man and the prince and Duo Bu Ji and De Yang play the parts of Romeo and Juliet.) Instead of "Romeo and Juliet," why don't you perform your own Xizang plays? Some people told me that a Xizang play, based on a fairy tale, called "Jie Shi Da Shen" is being staged.

Wan Li: (Explaining to Comrade Hu Yaobang) It is a Xizang fairy tale, (to all the members of the troupe) We should perform Xizang dances and plays. Xizang nationality is a nationality with culture.

Hu Yaobang: Xizang nationality is a nationality with culture. Excellent songs and dances of this nationality are a component part of the outstanding culture of the Chinese nation. Is there anyone who wants to dance now? Is there anyone who wants to speak. If you don't speak, I will speak. Do you need interpreters?

Members of the troupe: No, we don't need interpreters.

Wan Li: Your Hunan dialect is more understandable than my Mandarin with a Shandong accent.

Hu Yaobang: It will be too bad if you learn from me. Nobody understands what I say. I was told that, mandated by comrades in Xizang, you want to extend greetings to me and Comrade Wan Li and say hello to us. We really do not deserve this and it is really too much for us! Instead, we would like to convey our greetings to comrades in Xizang and our gratitude for their concern shown to us (applause). It has been more than 1 year since Comrade Wan Li and I visited Xizang. Although Comrade Wan Li and I only visited Xizang once, we cherish a deep affection for it. I do not know why.

Wan Li: Comrade Yaobang gave us a good speech. His Mandarin is more understandable than mine. My Mandarin has a strong Shandong accent. It is not easy for you to understand it (laughter). Last year, we went to Xizang....

Hu Yaobang: He carried out a lot of investigations....

Wan Li: I talked a lot. I was not familiar with the situation, so I talked with cadres of counties and prefectures. I was afraid that I would issue incorrect statements which harm you. Facts eventually proved that what I said was correct. I hope that you will unite more closely, struggle hard and enrich yourselves as soon as possible. I will repeat what I said. You have good conditions to do so. You have vast territory and abundant resources, but your population is sparse. The only defects are poor communications and low scientific and technical standards. The central authorities will support you so that you will do well. The central authorities intend to help you more but how should we help you correctly? Please don't hesitate to raise your opinions. For example, instead of supplying you with barley, we gave you wheat. You raised your objection and we corrected our mistakes (laughter). How should the State Council help you and avoid harming your interests? Please convey our message: If the State Council or the central authorities have done anything which harms your interests, please point them out. We will correct our mistakes. Please convey our message.

Hu Yaobang: It is time for you to speak. Cadres of the Han nationality were able to select two representatives to speak. Now it is time for you to speak (laughter).

Suo Nan: My Mandarin is not good enough.

Wan Li: You can speak much better than I do.

Suo Nan: Today, we feel happy because we can meet with leaders of the central authorities.... The present situation in Xizang is favorable. Peasants and herdsmen have become rich and cities have become prosperous.

Wan Li: We cannot say that the situation is excellent. We can only say that it is better than before....

Wan Li: I want to add a few words. I once convened a meeting to discuss the commodity supply for minority nationalities because their supply of knives, shoes and so forth was insufficient....

Suo Nan: Peasants need wool brushes to weave woolen fabrics. They can only buy these wool brushes in Tianjin and Beijing.

Wan Li: Let your girls be colorfully dressed.

Cao Zhengfang: People have money now, but the supply of goods is insufficient. They can buy earrings and bracelets only in Shanghai.

Wan Li: People in Xizang like top hats, but they are not available.

Luo Dan: The people of Xizang welcome Comrade Hu Yaobang and Comrade Wan Li to visit Xizang again.

Hu Yaobang: I am 66 years old now and will probably die someday. (laughter)

Wan Li: I will go to Xizang again.

Hu Yaobang: Comrade Zhao Zhiyang will visit Xizang.

Cao Zhengfang: The supply of scientific, technical, literary and other books to Xizang is insufficient.

Wan Li: Has the minister of culture come? (Zhou Weizhi: I am here.)

Hu Yaobang: Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai should each send 1 million books to Xizang. In this way, Xizang will get 3 million books. Please call on the masses to contribute books.

Wan Li: We should publish books in Xizang and Uighur languages. Since we translate foreign books, why should we not publish books in these languages?

Hu Yaobang: Xizang should develop solar energy within a few years.

Wan Li: Don't burn cow dung anymore. It is an eyesore to stick cow dung on the wall... "A strange thing in Lhasa is that cow dung is packed in bags and sold by the jin."

Hu Yaobang: I burnt cow dung for a long time. I started burning cow dung in 1935. Are there any other people who want to speak? We have talked for about 45 minutes.

CS0: 4005/157

'BA YI RADIO' VOICES OPPOSITION TO CCP-KMT TALKS

OW311415 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 28 Oct 81

[Text] Facts show that the proposal made public by Marshal Ye [Ye Shuai 0673 1596] that talks be held between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang on a reciprocal basis so that the two parties will cooperate for the third time has caused serious disagreement within the party Central Committee. The proposal is imposed on the whole party by a certain person on the party Central Committee, proceeding from personal fame and gain, abandoning the party's principles and class stand and despite objection by the vast majority. It is an unforgivable political mistake.

The proposal is contrary to our party's avowed purpose that it is determined to liberate Taiwan. The liberation of Taiwan has always been an important task of our party and army for the reunification of the motherland. It is also the wish of every patriot of the Chinese nation.

However, in the past 20 years or so, because our party has made a series of major mistakes, particularly mistakes in army-building and foreign-affairs lines, [words indistinct].

Not long ago, central leading comrades headed by Deng Xiaoping put forward a so-called new principle for peaceful reunification of the motherland. In early 1979, at the working conference of the party Central Committee after Comrade Deng Xiaoping returned from a visit to the United States, he optimistically stressed the assurances made by the U.S. Government. He also stated that the United States will give up all support and aid to Taiwan. Because of this, in the past few years our country has sided with the West in foreign affairs, allied with the West militarily [jun shi shang tong xi fang lian he 6511 0057 0006 0681 6007 2455 5114 0678] and identified itself with the West politically.

However, imperialism (?has failed to fulfill the promises it made). The recent supply of modern military equipment to the Kuomintang authorities by the U.S. Government is an ironclad proof. Isn't this enough to cause us to think deeply?

It is regrettable that Deng Xiaoping and other leading comrades, ignoring and forgetting the interests of the country and nation, think only about their

personal prestige--how to crown themselves with the laurel for reunifying the motherland so that their names will go down in history.

Past cooperations between the Kuomintang and the CCP were all necessitated by circumstances. The first Kuomintang-CCP cooperation was for the purpose of launching the punitive expedition against the northern warlords and abolishing the feudal (?rule). The second Kuomintang-CCP cooperation took place at the crucial juncture when the Chinese nation was in peril, and it was for the purpose of resisting Japanese imperialist aggression. Today, under circumstances of peaceful construction, what reason is there for cooperation between the CCP and the Kuomintang?

Let us not mention the results of past Kuomintang-CCP cooperation. Let us take a look at the essence of the present cooperation proposal. The proposal says: "After the country is reunified, Taiwan can enjoy a high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region and it can retain its armed forces. The central government will not interfere with local affairs on Taiwan." Moreover, the proposal guarantees that Taiwan's current socioeconomic system and its economic and cultural relations with foreign countries will remain unchanged, and that there will be no encroachment on the proprietary rights over private property, houses, land and enterprises. Isn't this clearly coming to terms with and capitulating to the capitalist system? Is this the goal for which the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country have shed their blood, laid down their lives and struggled hard for the better part of this century? Even more infuriating is the proposal that the present Taiwan authorities may take up posts of leadership in national political bodies and participate in running the state. To run the state together with the Kuomintang authorities who have slaughtered communists and stamped out the lives of millions of fine sons and daughters of the Chinese nation--this means not only association with the reactionaries, but an act of blasphemy against the revolutionary martyrs, who must be turning in their graves.

The initiators of the above-mentioned proposal must think thrice before they act. Don't forfeit the fruits of revolution won by our people over the past half century and move for narrow personal fame and gain. The cooperation proposal which is a gross deception can only bring consequences that will also be gross deceptions.

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